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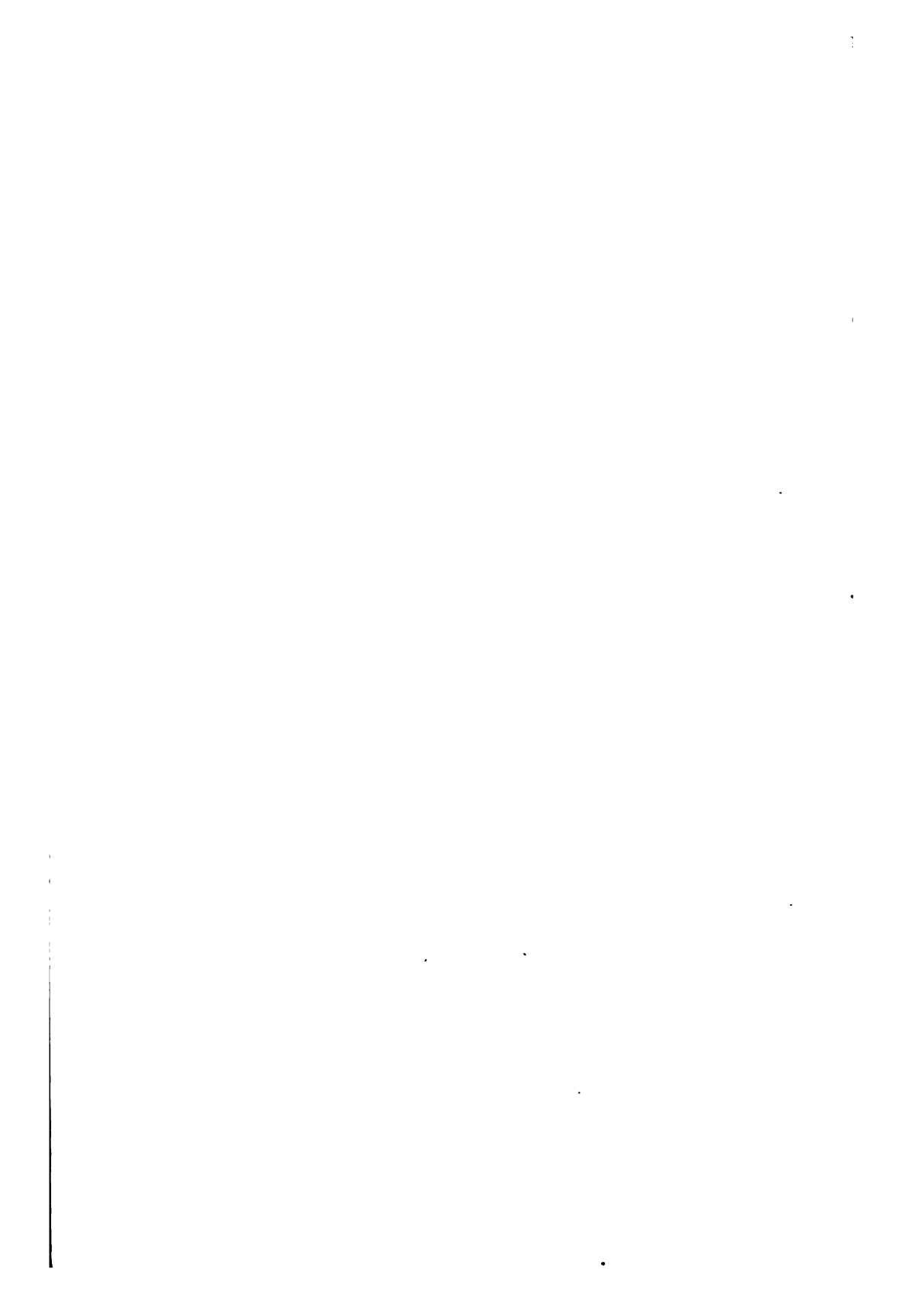
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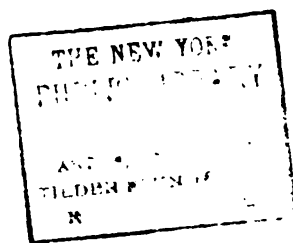
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THE
LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES
OF
AMBROSE E. BURNSIDE,

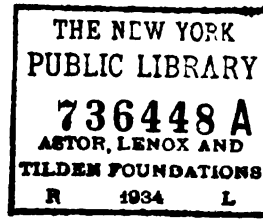
SOLDIER—CITIZEN—STATESMAN.

By BEN: PERLEY POORE.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
HENRY B. ANTHONY.

ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS AND ENGRAVINGS.

PROVIDENCE, R. I.
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INTRODUCTION.

THE fame of her sons, who have illustrated her history, is the priceless heritage of a free country. They who have contributed to her honor, and to build up her greatness and her glory, are justly held in fond and imperishable remembrance. Their deeds form a part of their country, and live coeval with her existence. There is no more grateful task, there is no more pleasing duty, than to make the record of them, and to hold them up to the admiration and the emulation of those who survive them, and those who shall come after them.

AMBROSE E. BURNSIDE forms one of the conspicuous figures in the history of the war for the maintenance of the Union. His private virtues won the affection of his friends; his public services and achievements made him the pride and admiration of the State. No other man among us held so large a share of the popular esteem.

Certain persons, of late, have effected to depreciate the military character of GENERAL BURNSIDE, the evidence against it being largely his gentle qualities, that seem inconsistent with the rough manner of the camp and the field. But

“ The bravest are the tenderest,
The loving are the daring.”

So it has long been the custom of similar critics, though not on the same grounds, to disparage the military merits of a far more illustrious personage in American history, no less a man than Washington, whom they represent as a frontier colonel, with little knowledge of the art of war, except what he had picked up in encounters with the Indians. Such was the opinion contemptuously expressed by Aaron Burr. Not so thought the great Frederick, who sent to Washington his portrait inscribed: “From the oldest general in Europe to the greatest general on earth.”

GENERAL BURNSIDE brought to the service of his country a natural aptitude for military operations, informed and instructed by a thorough military education. The Burnside Expedition to North Carolina was planned and executed on the strict rules of military science, and received the hearty approbation of the best military authorities. The defense of Knoxville, against the superior forces of Longstreet, was an admirable exhibition of military skill and science. In fertility of resources, in sagacity, in the comprehensiveness and thoroughness of his plans, and in the vigor of their execution, his merits were remarkable; and not the less in his attention to the details of his

operations, and in care for the health and comfort of his men ; and, although not sparing them in case of necessity, in his conservative regard for their safety.

He made war, not only on scientific principles, but with a constant reference to the purpose of the war, an honorable peace ; and at all times, in all circumstances, he was actuated by a high patriotic impulse. Singularly magnanimous and unselfish, his whole thought was for his country, never for himself. After he had withdrawn from the command of the Army of the Potomac, and the President refused to receive the resignation of his commission, he cheerfully accepted service under a man whom he had commanded, and in repeated instances served under his juniors in rank. This self-abnegation, this supreme regard for the cause, of which few men are capable, added largely to his efficiency. In addition to these qualities of a general, he possessed that magnetic power which attracted to him the love and confidence of the men under his command, which made them yield a willing obedience to his orders, and inspired them with an eager desire to deserve his approbation. He fulfilled in an uncommon degree the requisites of a good general as enumerated by Edmund Burke :

“ The fortitude required of him is very different from the unthinking alacrity of the common soldier, or common sailor, in the face of danger and death. It is not a passion, it is not an impulse, it is not a sentiment ; it is a cool, steady, deliberate principle, always present, always equable ; having no connexion with anger ; tempering honor with prudence ; incited, invigorated, and sustained by a generous love of fame ; informed,

moderated, and directed by an enlarged knowledge of its own great public ends; flowing in one blended stream from the opposite sources of the heart and the head; carrying in itself its own commission, and proving its title to every other command by the first and most difficult command — that of the bosom in which it resides. It is a fortitude which unites with the courage of the field the more exalted and refined courage of the council; which knows as well to retreat as to advance; which can conquer as well by delay as by the rapidity of a march, or the impetuosity of an attack; which can be, with Fabius, the black cloud that lowers on the tops of the mountains, or with Scipio, the thunderbolt of war; which, undismayed by false shame, can patiently endure the severest trial that a gallant spirit can undergo, in the taunts and provocations of the enemy, the suspicions, the cold respect, and 'mouth honor' of those from whom it should meet a cheerful obedience; which, undisturbed by false humanity, can calmly assume that most awful moral responsibility of deciding when victory may be too dearly purchased by the loss of a single life, and when the safety and glory of their country may demand the certain sacrifice of thousands."

The latter portion of this admirable paragraph might have been written on the contemplation of BURNSIDE'S military character. Impartial history will accord to him a name among the heroic characters of the country, and worthy to stand with those other great commanders, Greene and Perry.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "A. R. Anthony". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large, stylized initial "A" and a long, sweeping underline that extends to the right.



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[*Birthplace of General Burnside.**]

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL BURNSIDE'S CHARACTERISTICS — ANCESTRY — THE WHIGS AND THE TORIES OF SOUTH CAROLINA — BANISHMENT AND CONFISCATION — JAMAICA INDIGO PLANTATIONS GRANTED TO THE EXILES — AMNESTY AND RETURN — SLAVERY IN SOUTH CAROLINA — EMIGRATIONS TO FREE TERRITORY — EARLY COURTS OF INDIANA.

AMBROSE E. BURNSIDE was a valiant soldier, a sound-hearted citizen, and a useful statesman. Living, after he had attained his manhood, in an heroic age, he was alike earnest in the performance of duty, spotless in reputation, loyally patriotic, and faithful in his friendships. Born and reared among the primeval forests of what was then "the far West," he rose from an humble sphere of life to high commands in the armies of the Union, and subsequently to leading positions in the state of his adoption and in the national councils. The purity of his motives, the strength of his judgment, his unconquerable will, his indomitable courage, his unstudied yet forcible eloquence from a heart filled with belief, his

* From a sketch by B. S. Fosdick, Esq., of Liberty, Ind.

gracious presence and his dignified courtesy, were only eclipsed by his genial, affectionate, trusting disposition. He made loving kindness the guide of his life ; — no wrong was done him that he did not forgive, neither did he shrink from assuming the responsibilities of defeat rather than throw upon others the blame that justly belonged to them. His form and features will be transmitted to future generations by painters, by photographers, and by sculptors, and his career, from the breaking out of the Rebellion until his untimely death, is chronicled on interesting pages of the Nation's history. It is now proposed to record with his public life, his ancestry, his family connections, his early struggles for fame, and his private life, so rich in christian virtues, liberal sentiments, social courtesies, and generous hospitalities. These personal incidents have been obtained from General Burnside's surviving relatives and friends, while the public archives have supplied copies of important documents, hitherto unpublished, illustrating his public life and services.

Robert Burnside (the great-grandfather of Gen. Ambrose E. Burnside), was a native of Scotland, who had, with his brother Joseph, followed the fortunes of Prince Charles Edward until the final defeat of the "Young Pretender" at Culloden, in 1746. They then sought an asylum in South Carolina, where Robert settled on the bank of the Saluda River. Marrying Rebecca Dodson, a native of Huddersfield, in England, he became a successful planter, and was the father of three grown-up sons, named James, Robert, and Joseph, when the American colonies declared themselves free and independent. In South Carolina this revolutionary action did not receive the united support of the people, and — strange to relate — nearly all of those who had become exiles from Scotland

for the part which they had taken against the reigning house of Brunswick, enlisted under the royal flag, and drew their swords in the defense of the cause of "their royal sovereign, his most gracious majesty, King George."

The war was bitterly waged, and as the Whigs and the Tories alternately triumphed, reciprocal injuries sharpened their resentments, and armed neighbor against neighbor — brother against brother. Robert Burnside, who was an Episcopalian, was loyally devoted to "the King, the Church, and the Constitution," but he was too far advanced in life to take up arms, and he died soon after the commencement of the sanguinary struggle. He was sustained by his oldest son, James, but his sons Robert and Joseph entered the Revolutionary army, serving under Gen. Francis Marion, known as the "Swamp Fox," and afterwards in the "Light Horse Legion," commanded by Colonel Henry Lee. Joseph was wounded in the shoulder at the battle of Guilford, and after peace had been declared he migrated to Kentucky, where he located near Nicholasville, and was killed by the Indians in the spring of 1790. His brother Robert followed him to Kentucky in 1789, and became noted as a successful farmer, and an ardent political supporter of Andrew Jackson, crossing the Alleghanies on horseback to witness the inauguration of "Old Hickory" in 1829. The descendants of Robert and of Joseph Burnside now reside in Kentucky.

James Burnside (the grandfather of Ambrose E. Burnside), inherited the loyalty of his father, which was strengthened by his marriage to the daughter of James Edghill, an Englishman by birth, who commanded one of the twenty-one regiments of loyal South Carolinians. James Burnside served as a captain in this regiment, and when it became certain that the royal cause was hopeless,

he accompanied his father-in-law, Colonel Edghill, to the loyal colony of Jamaica. The British government gave them small indigo plantations there as a recompense for their home estates, which had been confiscated by the Whigs of South Carolina. James Burnside was not, however, contented, and obtaining amnesty for his disloyalty through the influence of his brothers, he returned to South Carolina in 1786, accompanied by his wife and their three young daughters. He settled on a plantation in Laurens District, where his four sons, James, Andrew, Edghill, and Thomas, were successively born. He tried hard to retrieve his fallen fortunes, but he never recovered from a complication of diseases contracted in Jamaica, and he died in 1798, leaving six children, who resided with their mother until Thomas, the youngest, became of age. The real estate was then sold, and the proceeds were divided among the widow and her children by the probate court. She was a woman who united rare strength of judgment with an indomitable industry, and she instilled into the youthful minds of her sons and daughters those christian virtues which she practiced with exemplary devotedness.

At that time the unrestrained importation of slaves from Africa had prompted many of the Quakers residing in North and South Carolina to emigrate to the then unsettled region north of the Ohio River, and their example was followed by others who also entertained conscientious objections to slavery. Among them were Mrs. Burnside and her four sons, the two oldest, James and Andrew, being accompanied by their families. Before leaving South Carolina, they executed deeds of manumission to their slaves, and then started on their long journey across the mountains. Taking flat-boats at Pittsburgh, they floated down the Ohio to Cincinnati, where they landed, purchased their

land warrants, and went by the way of Hamilton to their new homes, just across the line, in what was then the territory of Indiana.

James Burnside, who was the guiding spirit of the migrating family, had visited Indiana the year previous, and had selected a location for settlement, although he did not remain there. He was a native of Laurens County, South Carolina, where he was born in 1788, and on attaining his manhood he was married to Jane Crossan, the daughter of a Revolutionary soldier who was permanently lamed by a wound received in battle. A good land surveyor, he found abundant employment in locating land warrants in Indiana, Illinois, and finally in Wisconsin, where he found a permanent home in his declining years. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of Wisconsin in 1846, and he held, at different times, a number of local offices. After a long career of usefulness, he died in 1868, having always enjoyed good health until within a few days of his decease. While he was neither prominent nor conspicuous, it is recorded by the historians of Wisconsin that he was noted for his clear understanding, strong sterling sense, and a firm integrity of purpose which endeared him to all of his associates. His son, Col. J. O. P. Burnside, was a gallant officer in the Union army, and was subsequently in the postal service of the United States.

Two of the daughters of James Burnside, senior, who had married in South Carolina after they had come with their parents from Jamaica, remained there. The third daughter accompanied her mother and brothers to Indiana, but her stay there was short. Mrs. Burnside, accompanied by her oldest son, Andrew, her youngest son, Thomas, and her unmarried daughter, only remained in Indiana about two years. They then returned to South

Carolina, and went from there to Columbia County, Georgia. Thomas studied law, was admitted to the bar, and had a lucrative practice when he was elected to the State Legislature. Georgia was at that time agitated by the political feuds of the adherents of Troup and of Clark, and several times in debate Thomas Burnside was alluded to by a Revolutionary veteran, Peter Crawford, who was one of his opponents, as the son of a Tory. When they met on "the stump" in the ensuing political canvass, Crawford repeated his accusations, and Burnside retaliated by telling a scandalous story about his opponent's daughter.

Duelling was then the common way of adjusting differences between gentlemen, and was regarded as an alternative that could not be excluded from modern civilization, as the abolition of it would render violent tempers intolerable. Every gentleman had his brace of duelling pistols, often imposing in size, with flint locks and hair-triggers, and bearing notches cut on the stock,—ominous hieroglyphics indicating that so many fatal shots had been fired from it. George W. Crawford (afterwards Secretary of War), a son of Peter Crawford, no sooner heard of the remarks affecting the reputation of his sister, than he challenged Thomas Burnside. The challenge was accepted, and they fought with pistols just across the state line, in Florida. On the first fire Burnside fell, mortally wounded. His family remained in Georgia, and two of his sons, who served in the Confederate army, were killed in the valley of Virginia during the war for the suppression of the Rebellion.

Edghill Burnside (the father of Ambrose E. Burnside), was born in Laurens District, South Carolina, in 1790. His father gave him the family name of his mother as a

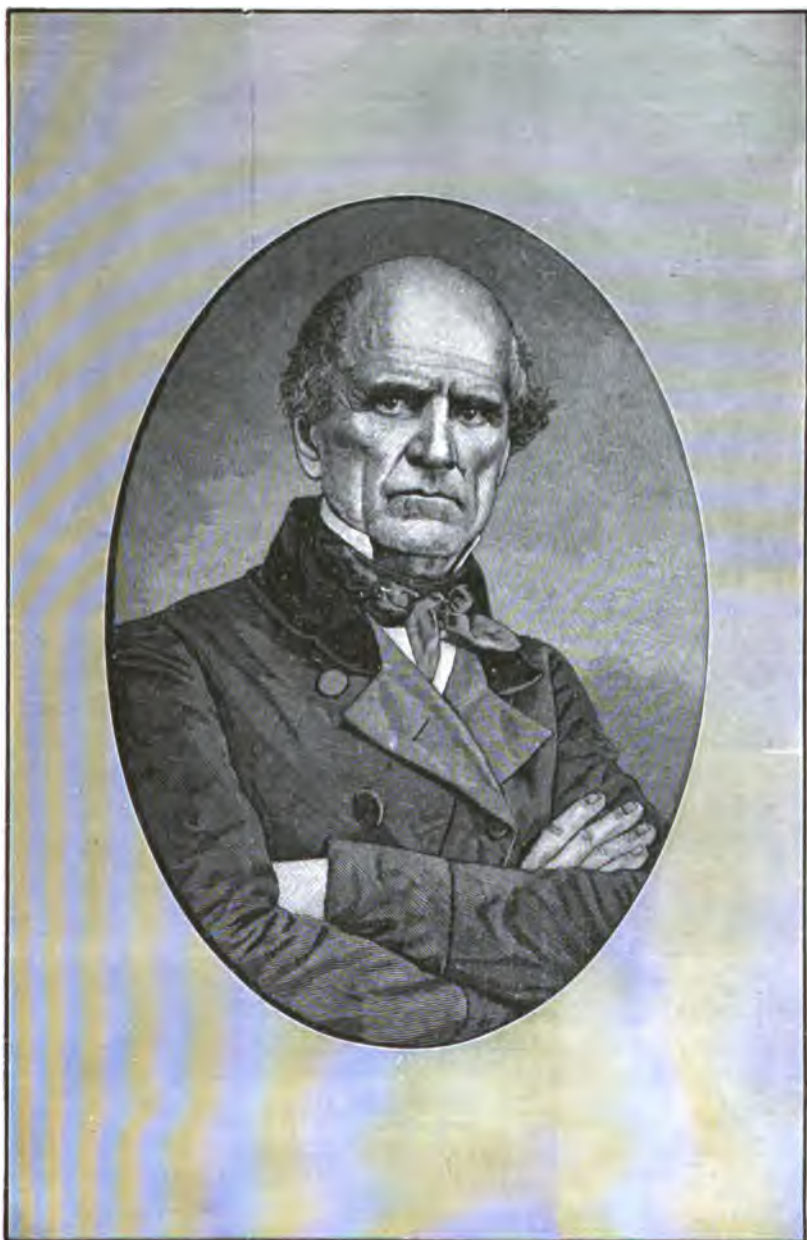
baptismal appellation, and he received a good English education at a neighborhood school, kept by a Scotchman. As he grew up, he became impressed by intercourse with his Quaker neighbors with a desire to leave South Carolina and its "peculiar institutions" for a region where there was "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude," and this desire was increased by the favorable reports brought back by his elder brother James, after an exploring expedition to the territory of Indiana.

Accompanying his family, Edghill Burnside selected as his future home a quarter of a section of public land in the vicinity of a town just staked out, named Liberty, in what was then Franklin County. There he became one of those stalwart pioneers who laid the foundations of the great State of Indiana, and who became identified with its growth and its prosperity. They had not the advantages for intellectual improvement found in the older states, but circumstances around them developed stout hearts, rugged honesty, patient industry, and self-reliant manhood, which subdued the forests and their savage denizens, and made the wild prairies blossom like the rose. Edghill Burnside was a large, heavy-framed man, with a strong intellect, and the stubborn tenacity of purpose of his Scotch ancestors.

Soon after he reached Indiana, Edghill Burnside received the congratulations of his friends as the happy bridegroom of Pamela Brown, to whom he was married on the 14th of July, 1814. She, like himself, was a native of Laurens District, South Carolina, where she was born on the 15th of September, 1795. She was the daughter of John Brown, who had emigrated from Belfast, Ireland, to South Carolina, when seventeen years of age, and had married Sarah Weeks, a native of Maryland. Pamela

Brown is remembered by those who enjoyed her acquaintance as having the fair skin and brown hair of her Celtic ancestors, with large, expressive hazel eyes. Quiet and domestic, she was a devoted wife and an affectionate mother, sacrificing her own health to promote the comfort of her husband and their children.

For a while, after going to Indiana, Edghill Burnside and his brother taught school and assisted the land surveyors. The following year Union County was organized, with the town of Liberty as its county seat, and Edghill Burnside was elected an associate judge of the circuit court. These courts were composed of a president judge, learned in the law, elected by the Legislature, and two associate judges, elected in each county by the people. These "side judges" as they were called, generally made no pretensions to any particular knowledge of the law, but still they had the power to over-rule the president judge, and give the opinion of the court. Sometimes they "out-guessed" the president, giving the most preposterous reasons imaginable for their decisions, as, in one instance, that a writ of *scire facias* to revive a judgment would not lie, unless it was sued out within a year and a day. The associate judges also individually exercised minor judicial power in their respective localities, and Judge Burnside soon became noted for his success in reconciling angry litigants when called upon to weigh their respective cases in the scales of justice. Disputed claims between neighbors were adjusted by compromise, and the log cabin in which he administered justice was in truth a court of conciliation. Gaining the confidence of his fellow-citizens, and becoming acquainted with legal documents and judicial proceedings, Judge Burnside was persuaded to accept the office of clerk of the county courts, which he held by

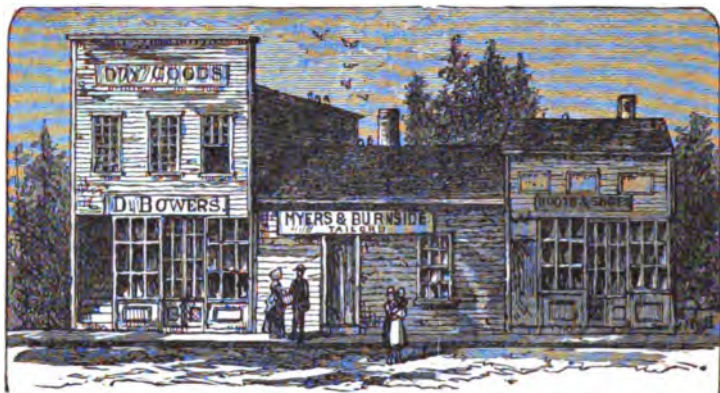


JUDGE EDGHILL BURNSIDE,
(The General's Father.)

repeated reëlections for twenty-eight years, when the adoption of the new state constitution of 1850 rendered him ineligible. The fees which he received, however, were barely sufficient, with the utmost economy, to support his family. Tardy in pressing for the small sums due him, he thereby frequently lost them altogether, and he was more attentive to his official duties than he was to his own pecuniary affairs.

Judge Burnside and his first wife were the parents of nine children. Cynthia Ann was born June 4, 1815, married to Benjamin Gould Nov. 20, 1832, and died July 10, 1879. Henrietta was born May 21, 1817, married to Norman Ross, Nov. 26, 1840, and died March 7, 1847. Henry M. was born Sept. 15, 1819, married to Camilla Cornell Nov. 18, 1845, and died Aug. 9, 1874. Ambrose E. was born May 23, 1824, married to Mary R. Bishop April 27, 1852, and died Sept. 13, 1881. Benjamin F. was born May 30, 1826, married Lydia Ann Zoudst, and died Nov. 16, 1831. Ellen W., born Oct. 30, 1829, is now living at Liberty, Indiana. Thomas Brown was born July 11, 1832, and died April 9, 1833. Harrison E. was born May 28, 1834, and died April 13, 1835. William Brown was born May 24, 1838, and died Sept. 7, 1838.





[Place of First Business Venture.*]

CHAPTER II.

BIRTH AND NAME—QUAKER EDUCATION—DETECTIVE SKILL—
YOUTHFUL TRAITS—RELIGIOUS VIEWS—LOVE OF THE MILITARY—
APPLICATION FOR A CADETSHIP—POLITICAL INFLUENCE—
APPOINTMENT AS A CADET—LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE—
DEPARTURE FOR WEST POINT.

AMBROSE E. BURNSIDE (the fourth child of Judge Edghill Burnside), was born in the log cabin on his father's farm, near Liberty, Union County, Indiana, on the twenty-third day of May, 1824. The attendant physician, Dr. Sylvanus Everts, at first almost despaired of establishing respiration, but by titillating the nostrils with the feather of a chicken, he excited a spasm of the respiratory apparatus, and gave the boy a start in life. The wife of Dr. Everts, who was Mrs. Burnside's most intimate friend in their new home, had recently lost her first-born child, who had been named Ambrose, after his grandfather, Ambrose Everts, an emi-

* From a sketch by B. S. Fosdick, Esq., of Liberty, Ind.

grant from Vermont to Ohio in 1794. Mrs. Burnside, as a mark of sympathy and of affection for her friend, named the babe Ambrose Everts Burnside. A few years afterwards Dr. Everts removed to La Porte County, Indiana, and when the youth's name was inscribed on the roster of the military academy, Everts was unintentionally changed to Everett, an error that was never corrected.

The village of Liberty was noted for the good order and quiet of its citizens, but was more particularly distinguished for the excellence of its schools. The Miami University, then Ohio's favorite institution of learning, was but a few miles distant, yet her professors, except in number, could claim no superiority over the teachers in the seminary at Liberty. The principal was Dr. Houghton, a Quaker preacher, who was a ripe scholar, endowed with the happy faculty of imparting knowledge and of inspiring his pupils with a spirit of inquiry that secured their advancement. Young Ambrose was acknowledged in his youth to be an obedient scholar and a faithful student. Under the guidance of Dr. Houghton he rapidly acquired a sound knowledge of the practical branches of mathematics, rhetoric, logic, and moral philosophy. When he left the seminary he was further advanced in education than boys of his age generally are.

An incident which occurred while Ambrose was a pupil at the seminary shows the determined courage of the coming man. He and an elder brother were members of a debating club which held its sessions at the Court House. One evening, at the close of the debate, when the members were about to separate, the elder Burnside missed his pocket-book, containing a small sum of money. At first he supposed that it had been taken as a joke, but no one offered to return it, and Ambrose, to the surprise of all

present, locked the door, saying: "There is the thief—let him be searched." The other members of the club stood astonished, for the accused was a young lawyer who had been invited by an old practitioner to settle in Liberty, where he had already begun to secure clients. He became very indignant, blustering and threatening severe punishment to any one who would attempt to search his person. Ambrose Burnside, nothing daunted, stepped up to him, seized him by the collar with one hand, and soon produced the missing pocket-book from one of his pockets. Before the dawn of the succeeding day, the culprit had left for parts unknown, and it then became known that on several previous occasions his fellow-boarders had lost money from their pockets at night. No one had ever intimated that the young lawyer was the thief, but young Burnside had heard of the thefts, and his quick perception had prompted him to expose the purloiner of his brother's pocket-book, at some personal risk.

On the 19th of May, 1841, young Burnside's mother died, beloved and esteemed by all who knew her. The expenses of educating him for a profession, in accordance with her wishes, were too onerous for the paternal pocket, and Ambrose was forced to avail himself of the only visible means for earning his own livelihood. When upwards of seventeen years of age, he was indentured as the apprentice of John E. Dunham, a merchant tailor, who resided at Centreville, Wayne County, Indiana, about fifteen miles from Liberty. At first the errand boy of the shop, he was soon promoted to a seat on the board, where he won the approval of his master by his industry and skill.

The young tailor's vitality and great powers of endurance were soon well known in Centreville, as after a long day's work, seated cross-legged on the shop-board, he was

ready to pass the night with jovial companions, only asking for two or three hours' sleep as the morning advanced. Fond of female society, he was a regular attendant on the village belles at dancing-assemblies, singing-schools, quiltings, and evening prayer-meetings. It was not long before he was the leading beau in Centreville, his social urbanity, courteous manners, and frank, hearty address giving him a high social reputation in that neighborhood.

He became a skillful mechanic, but his heart was not in his work, and while he cut, and basted, and stitched, and pressed, he managed to read every book that he could borrow. The appetite for knowledge grew by what it fed upon, and he became especially fond of reading the lives of military heroes and the narratives of campaigns. Veterans who had served under Jackson at New Orleans, and under Harrison in the Indian wars, found in him an attentive listener as they narrated their exploits, and he became familiar with the details of the battles which they described.

The young man's term of apprenticeship having expired, he returned to Liberty, where he worked for a short time as a journeyman, and then entered into partnership with John M. Myers. The firm of "Myers & Burnside, Merchant Tailors," occupied a small, one-story, wooden building, and their only apprentice, Benajah S. Fosdick (now a leading merchant at Liberty), slept with Burnside on a mattress placed on the shop board at night, and stowed away under it in the day-time.

Young Burnside was a regular attendant at the Methodist Episcopal Church at Liberty, and he was the secretary of its Sunday School, in which his father and two of his sisters were teachers. The religious convictions thus formed, based on a pure, biblical faith, were never shaken by skept-

ticism or infidelity. He was, through his eventful life, a daily reader of the Holy Scriptures, and his esteemed friend, the Rev. Augustus Woodbury, the chaplain of the First Rhode Island Regiment when he was its commander, bore testimony at his funeral to the deep religious element in his character. "It may not," said Mr. Woodbury, "have often come to the surface, certainly not in any ostentatious way, but it lay within him, his safeguard from many an ill, his encouragement in many a difficult duty, and his support in many a sore and trying experience." He was, in the truest meaning of the term, a Christian gentleman, illustrating the Golden Rule, by his honest works, his honest utterance, and his honest faith.

The rural surroundings of young Burnside gave strength to his judgment and freedom to his speech, and he became the leading spirit of the village debating society, never seeking oratorical effect, or dropping into the discussion any poisonous ingredients. Then, as in his after life, he possessed the remarkable faculty of making friends as if by some power of fascination, and attracting them to him by ties which were rarely weakened. He was noted for his neatness and order, and although of an impetuous temperament, he was, nevertheless, persevering and firm of purpose. On one occasion a troublesome fellow, somewhat intoxicated, came into his shop and began to abuse him. Young Burnside endured the infliction patiently for a while, then sprang from his shop-board and seizing the man by the shoulders, pushed him into the street.

Success rewarded his industry and good behavior, but his sedentary employment grew distasteful, and he longed for out-of-door exercise. He used to hold long discussions on military matters with his partner, Mr. Myers, who had some military experience, and who subsequently

served creditably as the colonel of a regiment of Indiana volunteers in the Mexican War. They used to study tactics with the aid of buttons ranged on their shop-board, and on one occasion young Burnside patiently worked out a movement "*en echelon*" by changing the position of over five hundred buttons, one at a time, in the "deployment from line into column."

There is a tradition at Liberty, that on one occasion the Hon. Caleb B. Smith, then the Representative in the Federal Congress from that district, was about to start on an electioneering tour, when he discovered that there was a rent in his coat. Stepping into the tailor's shop to have it mended, he found no one there but young Burnside, who was stitching away on a coat, while he was attentively studying a volume of Cooper's Tactics, which was propped up by a "goose," and kept open by a pair of shears.

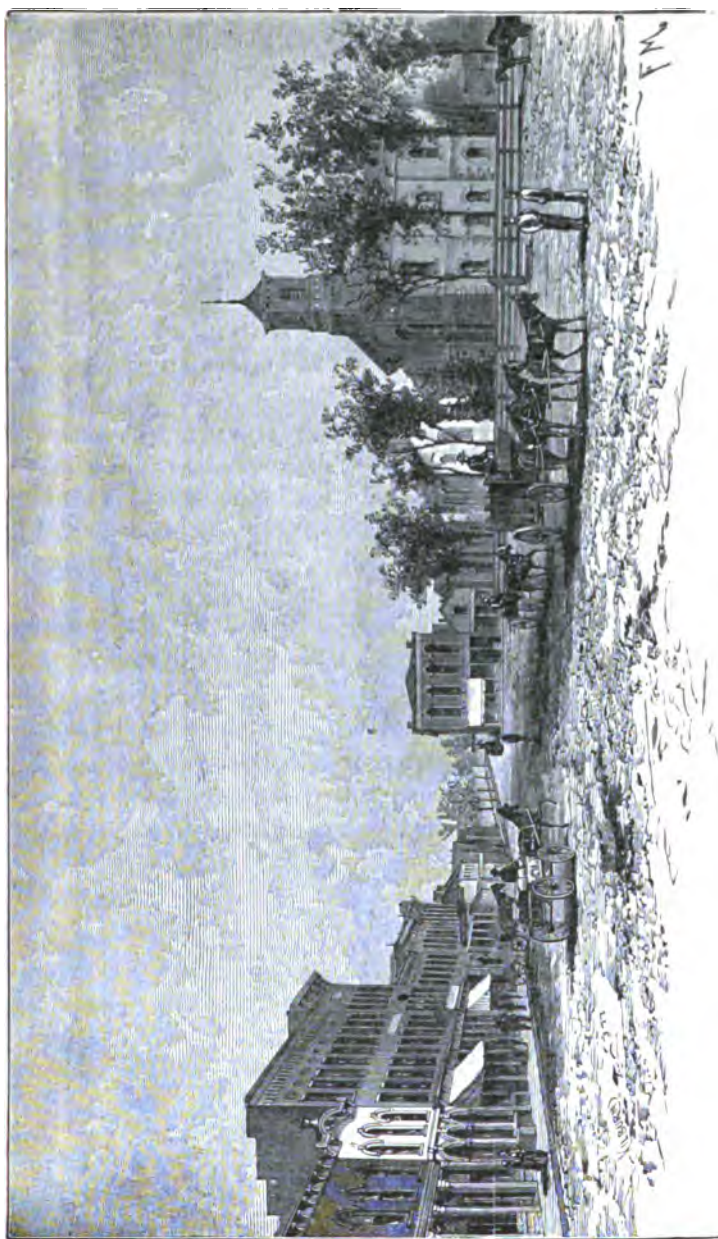
Questioning the young man, the congressman was struck with his self-reliant confidence and the unflinching look with which he returned his gaze, and an unknown influence prompted him to say: "You should be a cadet at West Point!" That remark changed the young tailor's destiny. Ardent and impulsive, he would not listen to those who told him that he had not the slightest chance of obtaining an appointment, and he persuaded his father to make a formal application in his behalf.

It was fortunate for the young aspirant for martial life that Judge Burnside was that year a member of the State Senate of Indiana. He thus obtained a recommendation that his son might receive the appointment, signed by nearly fifty members of the Legislature, the governor, and other distinguished citizens. In transmitting these recommendations, Judge Burnside wrote to the Secretary of War,

saying in conclusion: "I have only to say to you that it would be a source of gratification to me, could my son obtain the appointment, as I am induced to believe he has the constitution and mental capacity to sustain himself there."

Unfortunately for the success of the application, the Hon. Caleb B. Smith became involved in a personal quarrel with John Tyler, then the President of the United States. Mr. Smith's bitter denunciations of the administration had been published in the eastern newspapers, and had excited the anger of President Tyler and his Cabinet to such an extent that his subsequent recommendations for office were ignored at the departments at Washington. Meanwhile Judge C. H. Test, who had been the unsuccessful competitor of Mr. Smith in the congressional election, took up the cudgels in defense of the administration. His articles were copied in the *Madisonian*, President Tyler's Washington "organ," and it was soon known in Indiana that candidates for postmasterships and other places recommended by him received their appointments without delay.

Judge Burnside at last learned the exact position of his son's application, and also became convinced that he had made a mistake in selecting a calling for him. He then applied to Judge Test, who wrote a note to Mr. Robert Tyler, the President's son and private secretary, asking him to interpose in behalf of young Burnside. The appointment was promptly made, and inclosed to Judge Test, who placed it in the hands of the delighted recipient. He at once wrote the following letter of acceptance, which, with the required parental indorsement, was transmitted to Washington:



THE PUBLIC SQUARE IN LIBERTY, IND.

LIBERTY, March 17, 1843.

HON. J. M. PORTER,

Secretary of War.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a communication of the 8th of March, informing me that the President has conferred upon me a conditional appointment of cadet in the service of the United States, and to inform you of my acceptance of the same.

Very Respectfully,

Your Obedient Servant,

AMBROSE E. BURNSIDE.

I hereby assent to the above acceptance by my son of his conditional appointment as a cadet, and he has my full permission to sign articles by which he will bind himself to serve the United States eight years, unless sooner discharged.

EDGHILL BURNSIDE.

The people of Liberty bade farewell to their young townsman with regret, for he had won their confidence, their respect, and their affection. The survivors of those days now allude to him with pride, and hold up his industrious habits, his good conduct, and his genial manners, for the emulation of young men who may be struggling to rise, by their own exertions, from penury to high and honorable positions.





CHAPTER III.

THE MILITARY ACADEMY—FORMATION OF LIFE FRIENDSHIPS—
DRILL AND DISCIPLINE—SHAVING A BISON—CADET RANK—
“BENNY HAVENS, OH!”—PROFICIENCY IN STUDIES—FINAL
EXAMINATIONS—CHANGING THE GRAY FOR THE BLUE.

WEST POINT was a glorious laboratory for the transformation of an awkward country lad, fresh from his work-bench, into “an officer and a gentleman.” To young Burnside the military academy, with its surroundings, appeared like fairy land, and he was charmed with what he saw. There was the parade-ground on which Washington witnessed battalion drills by that irascible tactician, Baron Steuben, and the romantic haunt of Kosciuszko still retained its picturesque beauty. Near by was Stony Point, the scene of Wayne’s exploit, and on every hand were eloquent testimonials of the vigor of our soldiers and of the achievements of our armies.

The class of 1847, which entered the military academy on the 1st of July, 1843, numbered fifty-three cadets, from every section of the United States. In that class, and other classes which immediately preceded and followed

it, were a number who afterwards became famous, including Generals McClellan, Hancock, Parke, Pleasanton, Fitz John Porter, Hatch, Sackett, Granger, Russell, Pitcher, Foster, Reno, Stoneman, Gibbs, Frye, Gibbon, Griffin, Viele, De Russy, Duane, Michler, Tidball, Gilmore, Benet, Baird, and McKeever, of the Union army, with Generals T. J. (Stonewall) Jackson, Buckner, Bee, Rhett, Wilcox, Maxey, Pickett, Hill, Heth, Steuart, Withers, and Robinson, who espoused the Confederate cause. Then all were loyal, and life-lasting friendships were formed between cadets from the North and from the South, as they vied with each other in qualifying themselves for upholding the national glory.

Cadet Burnside was assigned to a room in the old North Barrack, No. 8, and had as a room-mate Cadet Heth, of Virginia. They soon became the most devoted of friends, and not once during the four years of their joint occupancy of that room did a harsh word or cross look mar their friendship. Their beds were always side by side, and often in the still hours of night the young Indianian would leave his own, seek that of his Virginia comrade, and with his head pillowed on his shoulder, sleep the sleep of peaceful youth, to be aroused only by the morning gun, calling them to the duties of another day.

The daily duties at the academy were varied and interesting, especially during the summer months, when, in addition to the severe studies of the class-rooms, the cadets were practically exercised in the art of war. The encampment, with its sentinels, gave the effect of the tented field, with its drills, manœuvres, and discipline. There were the artillery drills, during which the athletic young men rattled the heavy field-pieces about like so many playthings, loading, firing, swabbing, attacking and repelling with as great a degree of accuracy, rapidity, precision,

and skill as could be exhibited in actual warfare. At the cavalry exercises in the riding-school, feats of horsemanship were performed that made the lady spectators shudder with fright, and that rivaled in daring and skill some of the classical performances of the ancient circus. Then fortifications would be laid out, fascines would be made, and bridges would be built out into the river on pontoons, launched from their wagons. The art of war was exemplified.

Cadet Burnside was, when he entered the academy, tall, erect, and compactly built, with same style of side whiskers which he wore through life. Mastering the drill, he became an animated automaton on parade, while his quick apprehension and retentive memory enabled him to master his studies with comparatively little effort. The professors liked him, although he was soon regarded as somewhat wild when off duty. Among his classmates he was a universal favorite. His quick perception of character, integrity of purpose, and the moral courage which prompted his action upon his convictions, enabled him to win the regard of those with whom he desired to associate, and treat others with cold civility. No cadet enjoyed a frolic more than he did, but his conscientious sense of duty often thwarted mischievous schemes, and such was his innate activity of mind, that it was difficult to hide anything from him.

Cadet T. J. Jackson, of Virginia, afterwards known as Stonewall Jackson, was of a very different disposition. He was regarded by the other cadets as an awkward, eccentric hypochondriac, who often conceived the idea that he was threatened with a paralysis of the right arm, and he would move it up and down like a pump-handle a certain number of times, counting as he continued, and getting very angry if he was interrupted.

The discipline at the military academy was very strict, and in addition to daily marks for deficiencies at recitations, by which the relative standing of each cadet was ascertained at the end of the academic year, demerit marks were given for offenses against the regulations. These offenses were often of what would seem a trivial nature, but they formed a part of the system of discipline. For example — “not neatly shaved at inspection,” “hair too long at inspection,” “collar not neatly put on,” “coat not buttoned,” and “shoes not properly blacked,” were some of the delinquencies for which demerit marks were given, and when a cadet received more than one hundred demerit marks in six months he was dismissed. Leniency was shown, however, to the newly entered cadets, by striking off one-third of their demerit marks. At the end of the first year Cadet Burnside’s standing in his class was: Mathematics, 18; French, 44; and General Merit, 31. His demerit marks for the year were 198.

The cadet uniform was of the shade of gray cloth which had been adopted by General Scott for uniforming the troops with which he won the battle of Chippewa, trimmed with black braid, and ornamented with a profusion of brass ball-buttons. In the winter, gray cloth, and in the summer, white drilling pantaloons were worn. The full-dress hat was of leather, with a woollen pompon, with a leather bellows-topped cap for undress. The cadets’ buttons were prized by the belles who visited West Point, and who secured them as “trophies of war.”

Entering upon his second year, Cadet Burnside’s soldierly bearing and perfection in drill secured his appointment as cadet-corporal, and he also became somewhat noted for the practical jokes with which he initiated the newly-appointed cadets. One of these, who came from

the far West, had such a profusion of long, bleached, sandy hair hanging down over his shoulders, while his face was partially covered with a light red beard, that he was at once nick-named "The Bison." A day or two after his arrival he was met by Cadet Heth, who told him that he could not be aware of the regulations of the academy, or he would have been to the barber-shop; and that cadets who did not have their hair cut and their whiskers trimmed by the cadet barber within twenty-four hours after their arrival at the academy, were liable to be imprisoned twenty days, during which time they would be fed on bread and water only. "The Bison" innocently fell into the trap, and asked his informant if he would kindly show him the cadet barber-shop. This was exactly what was wanted, and the new comer was escorted to the room occupied by Burnside and Heth, which had been made to resemble somewhat a barber-shop. A large chair was placed in the centre of the room, and at its side was a table, on which were arranged hair-brushes, combs, scissors, cologne water, and perfumery.

Burnside, personating the cadet barber, was in his shirt-sleeves, with a large white towel pinned before him like an apron. When asked if he could cut the hair of, and shave the new cadet before the drum beat for evening parade, he replied that he thought he could. The victim accordingly took his seat, and Burnside began to ply the scissors, timing his movements by his watch. He had cut the hair from one-half of the young man's head, and had trimmed the beard from one side of his face when the drum beat, and he said: "I must go to parade, but if you will return in an hour I will finish the job." They accordingly left, taking with them their victim, from whom they separated at the door. It so happened that just then the

superintendent of the academy came along, and "The Bison" seeing several of the cadets around him take off their hats and caps, took his hat off also, his appearance exciting a roar of laughter from those cadets who saw him. The superintendent angrily asked him how he came to appear in such a half-shorn condition, to which the prompt reply was: "The cadet barber is cutting my hair and shaving me according to regulations." "Cadet barber!" exclaimed the superintendent, "where is the cadet barber?" "Up in the cadet barber-shop," was the reply, pointing to the North Barracks. "Come with me, sir!" said the superintendent, "and show me this cadet barber!" "The Bison" accordingly led the way to the room in which he had been partially despoiled of his locks. On entering, the superintendent saw on the floor the evidences of the tonsorial operation, while Cadets Burnside and Heth, lying on their beds, were roaring with laughter.

"So," said the superintendent, "this is the cadet barber-shop; and pray who is the barber?" Burnside arose to his feet, and paying the usual military salute, said, "I am, sir! I am the one to be blamed." "Well," replied the superintendent, "let me see you finish your job." The young man was told to resume his seat in the chair, and Burnside cut off the remainder of his hair and beard, receiving for some time the sobriquet of the "cadet barber."

The cadets at West Point are not only thoroughly educated, but they receive a moral training in those qualities and traits which distinguish the gentleman. Particular attention is paid to truthfulness, and the opportunities for deceit in recitation are eliminated altogether. At many colleges students pass their examinations by having the answers to questions written on their shirt-cuffs or in their

hats. These practices, with their necessary effect on character, are impossible at West Point, the recitation sections being small, the recitations being frequent, and the questioning so thorough that success by deceit would be impossible.

Then again, lying is an offense punishable by court-martial, and where the possibility of concealing a lie is so small and the result of discovery so disgraceful, it is easy to see how a strong habit of habitual truthfulness finds place among young men who are not otherwise distinguished for morality. Cadet Burnside and his comrades would steal out of bounds to enjoy forbidden festivities at the restaurant kept by Benny Havens, yet they were truthful to a fault.

Benny Havens' restaurant was at that time the favorite resort of those cadets who were convivially disposed. It was situated on the bank of the river, near Buttermilk Falls, which made it an easy matter for the host to procure supplies of wine, liquor, and tobacco from New York by the passing sloops, and he could always get up a plate of hot buckwheat cakes, with a steaming mug of flip, or a more substantial supper. A feature of these clandestine entertainments was the singing of a song, the original verses of which were composed by Lieutenant O'Brien, to the tune of "Wearing of the Green," but successive classes added new stanzas until there were over fifty, and to these improvised additions are often made. The first verse of the original song was as follows :

"Come, fill your glasses, fellows, and stand up in a row,
To singing sentimentally, we 're going for to go;
In the army there 's sobriety, promotion 's very slow,
So we 'll sing our reminiscences of Benny Havens, oh !

"*Chorus.*— Oh ! Benny Havens, oh ! — oh ! Benny Havens, oh !
So we 'll sing our reminiscences of Benny Havens, oh ! "

Cadet Burnside was one of Benny Havens' most constant visitors and best patrons after "taps," on Saturday nights, and there are traditions that on very convivial occasions he would sing a ballad entitled "The Little Black Bull," with great effect.

A "hash" at the quarters occupied by two of the cadets was a favorite winter amusement. After "taps," when the light had been extinguished, the windows of the room in which the "hash" was to be enjoyed were carefully darkened, and the cadets invited would quietly enter in their stocking feet, bringing knives, forks, spoons, and plates, which had been "hived" from the mess-table. A turkey or a pair of chickens would then be roasted, and potatoes baked in the hot ashes, with other improvised dishes. After the feast had been cooked and eaten, pipes and tobacco would be produced, and the cadets would enjoy a good smoke, unless surprised by the officer-of-the-day. On his entrance the lights would be extinguished, and the cadets would hasten to their rooms, but they were generally detected. Cadet Burnside's reputation as purveyor and cook of a "hash" was unsurpassed, and he acquired a practical knowledge of cooking which he never forgot.

At the end of the second year the class had been reduced from fifty-three to forty-four members. Cadet Burnside's standing and demerit were as follows: Mathematics, 10; French, 28; English Grammar, 13; Drawing, 20; General Merit, 13. His demerits for the year were 133.

The third year Cadet Burnside received a furlough. On his return to duty he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant in the corps of cadets, and he greatly enjoyed camp-life from the last of June until the last of August. There were always numbers of young ladies—many of them relatives of cadets—at the hotel, and the pleasant

walks after four o'clock in the afternoon, followed by "hops" at the hotel in the evening, were very enjoyable. Occasionally the camp would be enlivened by a "stag dance," performed by twenty or more cadets, who gyrated among rows of candles placed on the ground, cadencing their movements by the rattle of a muffled drum. At the close of the third year, the class was reduced from forty-four to forty members, and Cadet Burnside's class standing was: Philosophy, 14; Chemistry, 13; Drawing, 18; General Merit, 12. His demerits for the year were 64.

The fourth year of Burnside's stay at West Point was an exciting one. The war with Mexico was raging, and the bulletins received from the land of the Montezumas naturally produced a feeling of restlessness among the cadets who were anxious to take the field. In the cadet corps, one of the four captains having been reduced to the ranks for a violation of the rules, Burnside was promoted to the vacancy thus created, in October, 1846. The following spring he was reported as absent from the post without leave, and he was reduced to the ranks on the 15th of April, 1847. The discipline has always been severe against going off limits.

The final examination came at last, commencing on the 4th of June, 1847. The chairman of the board was Hugh A. Haraldson, a Georgia lawyer, afterwards in Congress, and the secretary was Henry K. Oliver, of Massachusetts, a successful school-teacher, who had been made adjutant-general of the state. Among the members of the board were Senator Brown, of Mississippi, Senator Yulee, of Florida, and the ponderous Dixon H. Lewis, a Representative from Alabama, who weighed four hundred and thirty pounds. The examination of the cadets was at times carried on by the professors, and at times taken under the control of the

Board of Examiners. In some instances the professors announced the question and the board selected the individual cadet who should solve it; and in some instances a question proposed to one cadet was, by direction of the board, given to another for solution. Questions, also, of important practical bearing, and relating to subjects not recently reviewed, were freely proposed, and, in most instances, readily answered. In fact, every variety of method was put in operation to test the fidelity of the teachers and the ability and acquirements of the pupils.

The examinations continued for a fortnight, every forenoon being given to literary work in the Library Hall, and every afternoon to military drill and evolutions on the parade-ground. In the Library Hall the members of the Examining Board and the professors sat at a semi-circular table, in front of which were three large blackboards in frames. The cadets marched in to the tap of the drum, in squads of eight or ten, one being sent to each blackboard to solve a question proposed, and one standing with arms folded, to answer oral questions. "These were put at him with small mercy and with rigid impartiality. Unless promptly answered he received an unfavorable mark. Whenever a cadet at the blackboard had completed his work he faced about, folded his arms, and waited till called upon for explanation of his work. The regular business of the other cadets, in study and recitation, continued as though no examination was going on."

Cadet Burnside was pronounced by the examiners the finest looking and most soldier-like of the corps, and he was found equally ready when demonstrating mathematical problems on the blackboard, or executing manœuvres on the field. One day he was questioned on the preliminary steps and surveys necessary to the laying out of a

line of railway in any new location, and the requisite calculations in excavating, filling, etc. On another day he was examined on the principle which controlled the relative positions in line of the several companies in a regiment, and upon the evolutions of regiments and brigades.

One afternoon the cadets, organized as a battalion of four companies, were under examination in military movements, and — as had been arranged — General Oliver successively called several cadet-privates from the ranks, placed them in command of the battalion, and directed them to perform several evolutions. Among those singled out was Cadet Burnside, who had distinguished himself at the blackboard in the forenoon, and who without hesitation took command of the battalion, and gave the requisite words of command for the execution of six evolutions, which he saw were promptly executed.

The board, in its report, expressed itself satisfied that the several branches of science prescribed in the academic course had been faithfully studied and skillfully taught, and that the academy had well sustained the high reputation which had always been conceded to it.

Cadet Burnside's standing for the last year that he was at West Point was : Engineering, 24 ; Ethics, 26 ; Artillery Duty, 18 ; Infantry Tactics, 8 ; Mineralogy and Geology, 29, and General Merit, 18. The class had been reduced to thirty, and Burnside's relative standing when he graduated was eighteen. At last the severe questionings were ended, the final ordeal was passed, the graduating diplomas were handed to Burnside and his comrades, and the class of '47 hastened to

“ Doff the cadet and don the brevet,
And change the gray for the blue.”



CHAPTER IV.

ORDERED TO MEXICO—CROSSING THE ALLEGHANIES—RIVER PI-
RATES AND GAMBLERS--ARRIVAL AT VERA CRUZ—MARCH
TO THE HALLS OF THE MONTEZUMAS—RETURN TO THE UNI-
TED STATES.

THE war with Mexico, whatever may be thought of the causes which provoked it, showed that the dimensions of the moral and physical power of the people of the United States were far greater than had been supposed. For upwards of thirty years, with the exception of difficulties with the Indians, the Republic had been at peace with all mankind. The men who were to carry the stars and stripes into the land of the Montezumas were, with a comparatively few exceptions, unused to the privations and requirements of martial life. It was said of Carnot, the great French war minister, that in his office at Paris, his mind was capable of accurately surveying the battle-plains of Europe, and “organizing victory”; that to his genius the arms of France owed as much for their success as they did to the general, who in the midst of the strife held aloft the eagles of the republic; and men who in an hundred fields had cheerfully encountered the bayonet and the hail of battle, knew the ascription to be just, and proudly and honestly acknowledged

its truth. What Carnot had to do for France, President Polk, during the Mexican War, had to do for the United States. To find at any time commanders capable and brave is not difficult; but to raise, organize, equip, and provide with all the munitions of war, an invading army, is not so easy of accomplishment. To do this is to "organize victory," and this did Mr. Polk. The records of the country show that in an incredibly short space of time nearly one hundred thousand soldiers—regulars and volunteers—were placed, with all the means of attack and defense, on the territory of the enemy; and that this large body, under the lead of skillful officers, were, in fulfillment of the instructions of the government, converged from different points on the Mexican capital, and conquered peace.

Young Burnside passed the last few months of his cadetship amid the excitement of battle bulletins, which recorded the persevering marches, the impetuous courage, and the resistless daring of the army to which he was soon to belong. With the long-coveted commission, dated July 1, 1847,—the dream of his boyhood and the stimulus of his youth,—came an order to proceed to the city of Mexico, by the way of New Orleans, and there join his regiment, the Second Artillery.

Joining a classmate at Baltimore, the two embryo officers started across the mountains to descend the Ohio and Mississippi rivers to New Orleans. But a short distance of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad had been completed, and the Alleghanies were crossed in a stage-coach. The back seat of the vehicle was occupied by two Sisters of Charity on the way from the "*Maison Mere*," at Paris, to the Convent of the Sacred Heart, at St. Louis, and on the front seat were three western jewelers who had been making

purchases at the East. The two young officers had the middle seat, which was not very comfortable, and Burnside showed his familiarity with the situation by causing himself to be strapped under the baggage-cover on top of the coach, for the purpose of getting a good nap on the way. The experiment was apparently a successful one until drivers were changed at the ten-mile relay, when he found his somewhat peculiarly shaped head being punched for a supposed watermelon by the new driver. At the next station he was still more unfortunate, as the succeeding driver threw a bag of curry-combs and brushes on his head, which induced him to beat a precipitate retreat to the inside of the coach, satisfied to take his chance for naps with the rest of the passengers.

Reaching Wheeling on the evening of the second day, the party embarked on a small stern-wheel steamboat, which they exchanged for a more commodious side-wheel steamboat at Pittsburgh. The change was a grateful one, but a formidable source of annoyance presented itself to the travelers in the shape of certain suspicious characters who appeared among the passengers. The western rivers at that time were infested by piratical gangs of the very worst description. So daring and so well organized had they become, that the officers of the boats regarded them with fear that almost amounted to terror. A number of these officers had forfeited their lives in their efforts to protect the passengers from the depredations of these villains. One of the most notorious leaders of these robber gangs was a certain Burt Mackey. He had been repeatedly arrested and several times tried for felony, but had always managed to escape punishment—probably from having some of his confederates on the jury. It was discovered shortly after the steamboat started that no less a personage than the



THE AMERICAN ARMY ENTERING THE CITY OF MEXICO.

redoubtable robber-chief himself, with some four or five confederates was on board, attracted by the presence of the western jewelers with their recent purchases. It had also been reported that the worthy Sisters of Charity were the custodians of a large sum of money for the convent.

A general feeling of consternation took place among the jewelers, and the Sisters of Charity were in great distress. Burnside and his classmate calmed their fears by volunteering to mount guard over their state-room, relieving each other every two hours during the night. The situation was an extremely novel one, and very strange seemed all the surroundings of this western craft, with its high-pressure puffings, the cyclopean operations on the lower deck, where the glare of the burning wood in the huge furnaces lit up the swarthy faces of the negro crew, and cast long shadows through the forests on the shore; the constant heaving of the lead and cries of "quarter less twain" from the man with the line; the silence and loneliness of the upper cabin, broken by an occasionally opening door and the protruding head of a nervous passenger, or the stealthy tread of two or more of the confederates, meeting to consult over their baffled schemes.

The jewelers and the river-pirates left the steamboat at Cincinnati, Burnside and his classmate remaining on board to go to Louisville. On the way there a passenger made Burnside's acquaintance and proposed a friendly game of euchre, at the same time inviting an apparent stranger to take a hand. The three sat down, and soon became very much interested in the game; small stakes were proposed, and Burnside, being generally the winner, cheerfully assented to a proposition to increase the stakes. After a while Burnside began to lose, and he was led on until he had lost every cent of his money. In the morning he had

to admit that he was "dead-broke," which was the more unpleasant as his classmate had thus far paid all the traveling expenses, and had about exhausted his pocket-book. What to do for the remainder of the journey was the question. No money was to be had until they reached New Orleans, where the quartermaster would refund them their traveling expenses in the way of mileage; but how to get there was the problem, as neither of them had five dollars.

While discussing the situation one of the passengers approached, and excusing himself for apparently intruding upon their private affairs, he frankly stated that, having watched the game the night before, and knowing the two individuals with whom Burnside was playing were river sharpers, he had been much pained at the result, and finally suggested that if they were in any way embarrassed by it he would be most happy, on arriving at his home in Louisville, to furnish them with the requisite funds to pursue their journey. On landing at the wharf at Louisville he gave them his card and invited them to call upon him, when he would let them have what money they wanted.

They accordingly called on their new-found friend, and after seeking him without success in the fashionable portion of the city, they were directed to the business quarter; where, in a somewhat obscure locality, and over the door of a small variety shop, they found the name indicated on the card. Entering with some hesitation at the possible chance of a mistake, they were a little surprised at meeting their fellow-passenger, who was expecting them, and with a rare tact and delicacy had computed their possible expenses and placed the amount in two envelopes.

The surroundings of this unpretending little store were sufficient to show them at a glance that the sum of money

he handed to them was not taken from a very large accumulation, and when he subsequently invited them into a small room at the rear, which was his home, and, introducing them to his wife, who was as unpretending as himself, but who bore a look of unmistakable refinement, begged them to stay and take tea with them, they could not refuse. An interesting little boy stood by the side of his mother, these three constituting all the family. After tea the wife went into the shop and selected from a little glass show-case two very pretty and commodious arrangements of brown morocco for thread, needles, buttons, etc., which she begged them to accept and take with them to Mexico, where she was sure they would often be found serviceable. Each little compartment was amply supplied with whatever it was intended to contain, and they proved to be most serviceable and timely gifts.

Years afterwards, when Burnside was in command of the Department of North Carolina, he received a letter from a lady in Louisville, telling him that her only son had enlisted in a loyal regiment; that he was in delicate health, but nothing could stay the ardor of his patriotism, and, notwithstanding the fact that he was hardly able physically to endure the privations of camp-life, he had gone to the war and was at that time a private in one of the regiments in North Carolina. The mother asked that Burnside would, if he could consistently do so, place him in a position where his health would be the least endangered. She added that Burnside might possibly remember her, as she had once seen him in Louisville, but mentioning nothing by which he could recall the name. Thinking over the matter and recalling carefully the incidents of his visit to Louisville, it occurred to him that this might be the wife of his generous friend in the little variety store, and the

young man in question the little boy who stood at his mother's knee at the tea-table that evening. Meeting his old classmate, he mentioned the case, and it proved to be the same lad. Immediately on Burnside's return to headquarters he promoted this young soldier to a lieutenancy.

Burnside remained at Louisville for nearly a week, when he was joined by other classmates, also on their way to the seat of war, and they descended the Mississippi River in a steamer to New Orleans. At the Crescent City they were warmly welcomed, and soon embarked on a transport, which conveyed them to Mexico.

Far out at sea they saw the snow-capped peak of Orizaba, standing as a sentinel before the City of the Montezumas, and the next morning they landed at Vera Cruz, then in possession of the United States troops. The young officers learned with regret that the war was virtually at an end, and that the Mexicans, relieved from the danger of subjugation, had relapsed into their usual state of indifference and indolence, with which was a desire to wreak vengeance on their conquerors.

Lieutenant Burnside, who had meanwhile been commissioned as second lieutenant of the Third Artillery, was ordered to start at once for the city of Mexico, in command of the recruits destined for his regiment, as escort to a baggage train. Traversing the "*tierras callientes*," where tropical fruits and flowers were to be seen growing in all their luxuriance, they came to the "*tierras templades*," or temperate table-land at the base of the mountain. The wearisome march was greatly enjoyed by the officers and men, although they had to be continually on the alert, as the country was swarming with guerillas. Onward and upward led the road, and at last, at the foot of two majestic, snow-clad mountains, was the city of Mexico, with its

turrets, spires, and domes, while high above all waved in triumph the stars and stripes. Climates succeeded to each other — to use Humboldt's expression — in layers, and the detachment passed in review, between Vera Cruz and Mexico, the whole scale of vegetation, from the cacti of the tropics to the pines of the Arctic regions.

Lieutenant Burnside was warmly welcomed by his brother officers, and he was complimented by his superiors for the ability with which he had kept the men and the mules of his train from straggling and being carried off. He was much interested with the novel appearance of the captured city. Palaces, churches, and monasteries rose on every hand, some of them bearing marks of the recent cannonading. Dark-eyed señoritas smiled from behind the iron-work of balconies, and young men, gorgeously arrayed in Andalusian attire, moved about on small, ambling horses, richly caparisoned. Itinerant jugglers performed the same tricks that were witnessed by Pizarro; but a band of negro minstrels had crowded out the Spanish operatic company, and an American theatrical company nightly reveled in the halls of the "*Gran Teatro Nacional*."

The "*Cafe de Independencia*" had been rechristened the "Old Kentuck House." Other hotels in a like manner had changed their cognomens, and there were the "Eagle House," the "Lone Star House," the "St. Louis," the "Alhambra," the "Verandah," the "Merchants," the "St. Charles," the "New York Restaurant," the "American Eating Establishment," the "Shakespeare Dining Saloon," the "Indian Queen," etc., etc., where everything to eat and to drink, from "pigs' feet and buttermilk" to the very best "bald-face and Jamacia," were sold.

The *Diario Gobierno* newspaper had given place to

the *American Star*, the first number of which had been printed at Matamoras when the United States troops landed there, while others had been successively published at the various stopping-places of the advancing column.

The *North American* was issued from where a Mexican journal formerly emanated; and the *Yankee Doodle*, full of mirth and humor, poked his comical face from behind a corner, weekly.

Divine services were held every Sunday at the Grand Palace, by the Rev. Mr. McCarty, chaplain to the army, who, in a highly commendable manner, had been assiduous in his attention to the sick, wounded, and dying, both upon the field and in the hospital. While one of the commands was passing to a position in order to turn the enemy's works at Cherubusco, they encountered a murderous fire, which swept off nearly one-third of the command, and was calculated to produce momentary confusion even among the veteran troops. The reverend gentleman was among those left standing, and turning to them with a calm and placid countenance, raising his hat from his head, he called out: "Never fear, my brave fellows! the Lord is on our side; do your duty, and we are certain of victory." As the troops proceeded on they encountered an almost impassable ditch, where they suffered severely from the guns of the foe before they could reach the point of assault, when he was again foremost in the van, remarking: "My



GEN. WINFIELD SCOTT.

friends, war is a very bad trade, but this is not the time to discuss it; just hand me your guns, and I will hold them until you hurry over the ditch." His language and action produced a most happy effect upon the men, and as they were led on by their gallant officers they raised a shout, charged the enemy in fine spirits and confidence, and most signally routed and defeated them. As soon as the contest between the two armies was decided, the reverend gentleman was to be found among the wounded and the dying, endeavoring to alleviate the sufferings of the former, and administering the last of all earthly consolations to the latter.

The United States Army in Mexico presented but little of the pride and pomp of war, but all of its stern realities. The bloody battles in the neighborhood had made sad havoc among the officers of the old regiments of regulars, which gave the young graduates from West Point a great deal to do. Living under military regulations, and breathing a military atmosphere, the young gentlemen became habituated to obedience and accustomed to the restraints of discipline.

Lieutenant Burnside is remembered by his comrades as a tall, lithe, well-made young man, whose features were expressive of indomitable good spirits and keen humor. He was remarkable for his good temper, his obliging disposition, and his aversion to continued duty. In conversation with his superior officers his manner was slightly deferential, while with the younger officers he was cordial and courteous, his manner combining dignity and elegance with singular ease and simplicity.

The society in Mexico was to the young lieutenant an enigma. The degenerate descendants of the Cortez and the Pizarros lacked the chivalrous arrogance of the Cas-

tilian, or the bland gaiety of the French. Gambling and smoking occupied their time, while the ladies, reared in deplorable ignorance, lacked the languid grace and subtle sparkliness so peculiar to the Andalusian race. Many of the officers visited the gambling-houses, and Lieutenant Burnside was one of those who became fascinated in "fighting the tiger," without sufficient self-denial to stop until he had been regularly plucked. At last he found himself stopped of all his available means, and his pay for six months in advance was mortgaged. His first impulse was to resign, but a senior officer who had been regarded as somewhat parsimonious insisted upon Burnside receiving from him a loan sufficiently large to extinguish his indebtedness.

"*Nanyana*," was the favorite expression of the Mexicans, and it was practically applied to everything, from the simplest transactions of life up to matters of the utmost moment. It may be translated: "Do nothing to-day which by any possible means you can put off until to-morrow." With the Americans it was different. Guard-mounting, drills, reviews, and parades were ordered and punctually executed. Unfortunate differences of opinion between General Scott and his subordinate generals created a bad feeling, which extended throughout the army, and there was a general feeling of relief when the troops began to leave for Vera Cruz, there to embark for the United States. Bragg's battery, of the Third Artillery, to which Lieutenant Burnside was attached, was ordered to Fort Adams, at Newport, R. I.



CHAPTER V.

AT FORT ADAMS, NEWPORT—GARRISON LIFE—ORDERED TO THE FRONTIER—PLACED IN COMMAND OF A DETACHMENT OF MOUNTED MEN—HIS FIRST REPORT—VICTORIOUS ENGAGEMENT WITH THE INDIANS—WOUNDED—JOINS HIS REGIMENT AT JEFFERSON BARRACKS.

FORT ADAMS, near Newport, where Lieutenant Burnside was stationed on his return from Mexico, is a most delightful stronghold, built in accordance with the science of engineering, before earth-works were substituted for massive granite walls. The view from the ramparts of the fort is varied and picturesque. On one hand is Narragansett Bay, with its islands, its watering-places, its steamers, its fishing-boats, and in the distance the broad sweep of the Atlantic Ocean, its dark waves crested with foam and flecked with white sails. On the other hand is the long hillside town of Newport, with its spires and public edifices, its long wharf, and the range of villas on its heights. Between the fort and the city, in the foreground, is the harbor, often the anchorage of foreign or home squadrons of war-vessels, and of gay yachts. And in the background are miniature precipitous ranges of granite, veined with small terraces of green grass, some of which are watered by springs.

The battery of light artillery stationed at Fort Adams when Lieutenant Burnside was one of the garrison, was a *corps d'élite*, showily uniformed, perfectly equipped, and kept thoroughly drilled. Nearly all of the officers and enlisted men had seen service in the recent war with Mexico, and had the weather-bronzed, robust air of veterans. Their soldier-like appearance, their great exactitude of drill, the freedom and celerity of their movements, all showed their familiarity with the essentials as well as the glitter of war. Lieutenant Burnside, who was a bold horseman, was conspicuous by his gallant appearance and his familiarity with the intricate evolutions, and he soon became a welcome guest in the adjacent town.

Newport was at that time beginning to be a fashionable watering-place, where celebrities and beauties from different sections of the country came to enjoy the summer season, even as the "Greeks of old went in peace to their Olympia." The familiar faces of congressmen, diplomats, jurists, and fashionables, with merchants of great wealth, were to be seen congregated there every summer, many remaining until late in the autumn. They enjoyed the foggy, bracing air, loitered at the Redwood Library, visited historic localities, sailed on the bay, feasted at "clam-bakes," and worshiped on Sundays in Old Trinity, where Bishop Berkeley preached in 1730. Once a week came "fort-day," when the owners of equipages rode out from the town in stately array, followed by equestrians and pedestrians. The commander of the post, with his subordinate officers, all in full uniform, would receive them with military courtesy, a fine band playing meanwhile. Occasionally the light battery would visit Newport, and perform its wonderful evolutions on Bellevue Avenue, horses and men moving in unison, in obedience to the notes of the bugle.

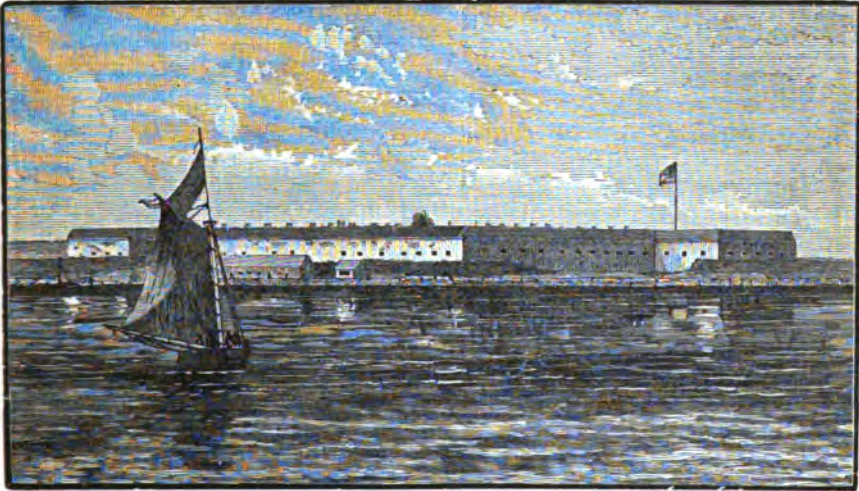
The young officers stationed at the fort found the society delightful. Boating parties on the bay, drives upon the beach, walks upon the rocky crags which border the ocean, dinners given by the wealthy sojourners, with music and dances at night, were all wonderfully attractive. During the Revolutionary War, the beauty of the young women of Newport, and the culture and wit of the citizens had entranced the hearts of the French officers stationed there, and Lieutenant Burnside was equally charmed with their successors. Occasionally he would visit Providence, to enjoy its hospitalities, and he thus laid the foundations of friendships which years afterwards resulted in his becoming a citizen of Rhode Island.

But garrison life, even with these surrounding social attractions, soon dragged wearily along. There were no threatening enemies compelling vigilance, and no active necessities to stimulate enterprise. He was well pleased when orders, dated December 10, 1849, directed him to proceed to New Mexico with "Bragg's Battery," one of the most efficient in the service.

On his arrival in New Mexico he found that it had been deemed impracticable to use the battery as light artillery, and he was placed in command of a detachment of it equipped and mounted as cavalry. At the head of this detachment, he performed escort duty, protected the mail-riders, went on scouting-parties, and rendered other efficient services, obeying the orders given him with equal ability and cheerfulness.

Soon after Lieutenant Burnside had organized his detachment for service, a band of Apaches and Eutaws appeared in the vicinity of Las Vegas, and commenced petty hostilities. After having committed several depredations, they surprised a mail-party. The two mail-carriers, with several persons who had accompanied them, were

killed, and only one Mexican attendant escaped to tell the tale. Lieutenant Burnside, with his detachment of mounted men, was at once sent by Captain Judd, who was



FORT ADAMS, NEWPORT, R. I.

in command at Las Vegas, to the scene of the murder, with instructions to bury the dead, and to collect what could be found of the mails. On his return from this duty he made the following report—clear, full of information, and yet modest, which was the first of the long series of reports from his pen which have since graced the military annals of the country :

LAS VEGAS, NEW MEXICO, May 23, 1850.

SIR : I have the honor to report, for the information of the Lieutenant-Colonel commanding, that in obedience to Post Order No. 11, dated Headquarters, Las Vegas, N. M., May 21, 1850, I proceeded with my detachment in the direction of the Wagon Mound, for the purpose of interring the bodies of the mail carriers and others who were murdered near that place, as well as to collect such parts of the mail as were not destroyed or had not already been brought in. I arrived at the scene of

murder on the day after I left this place and found the remains of ten persons. I at once put the Mexicans taken for the purpose to digging a grave for the bodies, and immediately commenced a careful examination of all the ground in the vicinity, assisted by Lieutenant Plympton, attached to this command, and Mr. Barclay, of Barclay's Fort. The wagon which Clay and Hendrickson (mail carriers) took from this place last March was found about a half mile from the foot of the Wagon Mound, with the tongue broken, and a dead mule, still in harness, attached to it. Two of the bodies, in a complete state of putrefication, were found in the wagon; the remaining eight, very much eaten by the wolves, in its immediate vicinity, the farthest one probably seventy-five yards off; one horse and two mules were killed near the wagon, and two American horses near the foot of the Mound. The ground, from these two horses to the wagon, was strewn with arrows. On the road which passes by the foot of the mound, and about a mile from the wagon, we found where the party had encamped before they were attacked; the track of the wagon could not be discerned. The trail of the marauding party was indistinct. We examined the cañon formed by the rising ground near the mound, and in fact all the ground in the neighborhood, and secured all the mail that could be found, which consisted principally of "blank forms" and a few private papers.

From these facts I am led to the following conclusion: That the mail party, with five or six other persons who had joined it, arrived at the Wagon Mound either before the snow fell, on the third of this month, or whilst the snow was still on the ground, for no tracks of any description could be seen; that the wagon with eight of the party started from camp, two of the party, not of the mail carriers, mounted on American horses, remained at the fire for a short time, afterwards starting, were charged upon by the Indians, who were laying behind the small mound at the foot of the Wagon Mound, their horses killed, and themselves wounded; they ran to the wagon, and were assisted in getting in by the main party; while in the act of doing this, the party were charged upon by the Indians, thrown in a state of confusion, and finally all killed within seventy-five yards of the wagon, on either side of the road. This opinion is sustained by the fact of the two men who were in the wagon being wounded each in the left thigh, the most common wound a man receives on horseback, and one that could not have been inflicted whilst they were in the wagon. No signs were discovered of any Indian being killed. The attacking party were evidently in great numbers, from the large number of arrows found on the ground, but the best evidence of it is the small space within which the whole party were killed. So large a party of Americans have never before been entirely destroyed by the Indians of that portion of the territory, and, in fact, ten Americans have

heretofore been considered comparatively safe in traveling over the road with proper care. Mr. Barclay, who had been a great deal among the Eutaw Indians, and in fact traded with them for some time, recognized certain arrows among those left on the ground. One of the Mexicans that I carried with me had been for many years a prisoner among the Indians, and recognized both Apache and Eutaw arrows, which confirmed me in the opinion that it was a combined movement of the two tribes. The party consisted certainly of not less than one hundred warriors. All these are mere matters of opinion, and may appear to show conceit and arrogance in so inexperienced a person as myself, but I have taken particular pains to weigh all the circumstances, and have formed my opinion not only from my own observation, but from that of Lieutenant Plympton and Mr. Barclay. The latter has been in the country for many years, and knows the Indian habits almost perfectly. No possible clue to the direction of the Indian trail could be found, and, in fact, the murder was committed so long before it was known (at least fifteen days) that all pursuit would have been unavailing, could we have found the trail. No fresh signs of Indians were seen, but it was reported that a party had been seen by a hunter near Barclay's Fort, but not being able to learn anything positive on the subject, I cannot say that the report is correct.

It is probable that Clay and Hendrickson, who went out in March, were the carriers. Benjamin Shaw and Mr. Goldstien are probably two others of the party, as many private papers belonging to them were found on the ground. Mr. Barclay is of the opinion that Mr. Brown, who owned the train that wintered near the Arkansas, was another. He judges from the appearance of the hair on the head, as well as the shape of the head. I have heard other persons spoken of as probably belonging to the party, but seeing no evidence, don't think it best to mention their names, as it may cause unnecessary alarm among their friends. Two of the party only were scalped, but all of them stripped. The principal part of the letter mail, I think, has been brought in. The Indians evidently thought the large rolls of blanks to be the most important, and consequently tore them open. I have brought in all that was worth picking up.

The bodies were buried in a common grave, and the wagon with all the rubbish was burned over it, to prevent, if possible, the bodies being dug up by the wolves.

I have the honor to be, Sir, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed),

A. E. BURNSIDE,

Lieutenant Third Artillery, Commanding Detachment.

TO LIEUT. J. N. WARD,

Post Adjutant.

On the 16th of August a party of about sixty Apaches visited Las Vegas and solicited powder and ball in exchange for furs. Captain Judd, who was in command, held a "talk" with them, and became convinced that their intentions were anything but pacific. Several of them were recognized as having been among the Indians who had falsely treated for peace at Taos, and had afterwards been engaged in numerous murders and robberies along the frontier. Captain Judd refused to grant their request for ammunition, and after their departure to their camp, about half a mile from the town, he ordered Lieutenant Burnside to follow them there, and arrest the chiefs.

Lieutenant Burnside, at the head of twenty-nine men, came up with the Indians before they had reached their camp, and advancing within short range of their arrows, halted his detachment, in the hope that the Indians would surrender. Instead of so doing, they delivered a flight of missiles from their bows and rifles, and then fled at a hand-gallop over the rough hills and ravines. A charge, with his command deployed as skirmishers, was at once ordered by Lieutenant Burnside, who gallantly led his men against the flying but resisting foe. A hand-to-hand conflict ensued, in which the sabre was the only weapon used by the troops, who followed their foes more than nine miles, capturing three prisoners, and killing, it was believed, at least twenty warriors. Lieutenant Burnside was wounded by an arrow just below the ear, and several of his command also received arrow wounds. He was warmly commended by Captain Judd for his bravery, and Colonel Washington, who then commanded the military department of New Mexico, in transmitting a report of the affair to Major-General Jones, then adjutant-general of the army, said: "The troops serving in New Mexico

are entitled to much consideration for the prompt and cheerful manner in which they have performed their arduous duties, as well as for their conduct in chastising the hostile bands which infest it, on every occasion which has been presented."

Before the gallant conduct of Lieutenant Burnside was known at Washington, it had been determined to send a cavalry force to New Mexico, and orders had accordingly been forwarded, relieving him from further duty, and assigning the men comprising his detachment to companies serving in their vicinity. This was accordingly done, and Lieutenant Burnside, having settled his accounts and turned over his arms and horse equipments to the Ordnance and Quartermaster's departments, left for Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, where he joined his regiment.

Resuming the routine duties and drills of garrison life, Lieutenant Burnside found relaxation in the neighboring city of St. Louis, with its old French families, its wealthy merchants, and its numerous visitors from Kentucky. Fond of ladies' society, the young officer was soon a favorite escort among the Missouri and Kentucky belles, and one night he went with a bevy of them to a public ball. On arriving at the hotel where the ball was given, Lieutenant Burnside learned that some disreputable persons had obtained admission to the floor, and proposed to the ladies of his party that they should content themselves with a view of the gay scene from the gallery of the ball-room. This they did, to the annoyance of some of the young residents, who had hoped to enjoy dancing with the ladies, and a newspaper published the next day made some sneering remarks about the military snob who thought that the society of St. Louis was not sufficiently refined for his lady friends to mix with.

Lieutenant Burnside was much incensed when he read this, and believing with Dr. Johnson that "a free press should always be accompanied by a free cudgel," he determined to chastise the writer. Having first obtained a fortnight's leave of absence, he went to the office of the newspaper, where he found the writer of the article and cowhided him well. He then left secretly for Indiana, and the constables sought him at the barracks in vain when they went to arrest him for assault and battery. Some of the leading citizens interfered, the complaint was withdrawn, and the pugnacious lieutenant returned to his duty.





CHAPTER VI.

ORDERED TO JOIN THE BOUNDARY COMMISSION—LIFE ON THE FRONTIER—DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE CIVIL AND MILITARY HEADS OF THE PARTY—RIVAL EXPRESSES SENT WITH DISPATCHES TO WASHINGTON—INVENTION OF A BREECH-LOADING MUSKET—PROMOTION—VISIT TO INDIANA—A LOVE EPISODE.

THE treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo having provided for a joint commission for running and marking the boundary between the United States and Mexico, Hon. John B. Weller was appointed on the part of the United States, and Gen. P. D. Condé on the part of Mexico. On the accession of General Taylor to the presidential chair Mr. Weller was removed, and General Fremont was appointed as his successor. Before he had rendered any service, however, General Fremont was elected a United States Senator from California, and then the Hon. John Russell Bartlett, of Rhode Island, was appointed commissioner on the part of the United States. Mr. Bartlett met the Mexican commissioner, General Condé, at El Paso on the 1st of December, 1851, and they commenced the important work entrusted to them.

The following May the commission established its headquarters at Santa Rita del Cobre, where copper-mines had

been profitably worked until the Apaches drove the Mexicans away. There having been some misunderstanding between the officers of the army detailed for service on the commission and the citizen commissary, the Secretary of the Interior had requested the Secretary of War to detail an officer of the army as quartermaster and commissary.

Lieutenant Burnside was accordingly detailed for this duty, and ordered to report to Colonel Graham, of the corps of engineers, the principal astronomer of the commission, at San Antonio, Texas. This old Spanish town, hallowed by the gallant defense of its mission-church by Crockett, Bowie, and others in the struggle for Texan independence, was the central point for freight-trains, drawn by mules and oxen, which transported the commerce of that portion of the continent. A large portion of the inhabitants at that time were Mexicans, the women having their heads enveloped in "rebosas," or mantles, and plying their fans with inimitable grace. The men, wearing broad-brimmed "sombrosos," jackets thickly studded with silver buttons, and trowsers open at the outside from the hip down, displaying ample drawers of white linen, were much given to drinking and gambling.

The Mexicans distilled a potent spirituous liquor, which they called *aquardiente*, from the bulbous root of the *agave mexicana*, by a process which reminded Lieutenant Burnside of the Rhode Island clam-bakes—using wet grass instead of sea-weed to cover the bulbs while being roasted on heated stones. The laborers were *peons*, of Indian and Mexican descent, and were generally held in servitude for the payment of debts which they had been encouraged to contract early in life. When such debtors grew old and unfit for labor, they were released with much ceremony from their pecuniary obligation, and thenceforth became beggars.

Lieutenant Burnside reported to Colonel Graham at San Antonio, and they traveled together to El Paso del Norte, a fatiguing journey of thirty days, through the picturesque Guadalupe Pass. There were rumors of large parties of hostile Indians on the way, but none were seen, although on several occasions the fire-telegraphs of the Apaches were seen in different directions, resembling puffs of smoke suddenly rising from the ground. This is produced by digging a small hole in the ground; making a fire in it, and then smothering the blaze with leaves. On suddenly opening the hole, the smoke escapes in a dense body, and rises high in the air.

Colonel Graham remained at El Paso, but sent forward Lieutenant Burnside with a letter introducing him to Commissioner Bartlett as "an officer of great merit." He at once entered upon the discharge of his duties as quartermaster and commissary, and commenced arrangements for equipping subsistence parties who were to make surveys and observations. When Colonel Graham arrived, difficulties arose almost immediately between him and Mr. Gray, the chief surveyor, which Commissioner Bartlett could not adjust. Wishing to obtain more positive instructions, he determined to send one of his civilian assistants, Mr. Charles Radzinski, to Washington, with special dispatches narrating his story of the situation. Learning this, Colonel Graham started Lieutenant Burnside at ten o'clock the next morning on a similar errand, with his story of the difficulty. Great interest was manifested as to which of the two expresses would be the first to arrive at Washington. They went by different routes, Mr. Radzinski going by El Paso and San Antonio, and thence through the Southern States, while Lieutenant Burnside struck boldly for the Missouri River, on what was known as the old Santa Fé trail.

Colonel Graham, inclosing the dispatches which gave his version of the difficulties which had arisen between Commissioner Bartlett and himself, said: "In regard to matters touching the commissariat, I must leave them, for want of time to enter into details, to the explanation which will be made by Lieutenant Burnside, an officer of the highest honor and the highest merit, in whose statements the most implicit confidence may be placed."

Commissioner Bartlett, in a dispatch narrating his side of the dispute, and earnestly protesting against the procedure, said: "In justice to Lieutenant Burnside, I would state that, prior to the arrival of Colonel Graham, and when he was, in consequence, influenced by his own judgment and good sense, he conducted in every way in a highly acceptable manner; but subsequently a material change has taken place in him as regards his official (not individual) capacity. During the former period he, in fact, discharged the duties of quartermaster; during the latter he has become an automaton. I should desire no better quartermaster, were he instructed to recognize and obey my legitimate orders, as head of the commission; but I do not admit that requisitions by me made, and for which I am responsible, are to be submitted to another individual, to be by him approved before the quartermaster shall answer them."

This race of twelve hundred miles across the then almost unknown country of the savage Apaches has rarely been equaled, and it tested the iron frame and the audacious nature of the young officer who was competing with a civilian. With an escort of three men—one of them his faithful negro servant, Robert Holloway, who continued to serve him through life with marked devotion—he started on his way across the wide *jornades*, or stretches of inhospitable and unwatered desert, uninhabited and uninhabita-

ble. The scanty vegetation of the previous years had become so dry and withered by the scorching rays of the sun, that it crumbled into dust when crushed in the hand or trodden on by animals. The beds of the streams were dry, and the little lakes that once bordered them did not contain a drop of water. Several times, in crossing these dry basins, they saw beautiful mirages, which appeared like bodies of water in the distance. Clumps of bushes rose from their surface like small islands, and the green grass on their borders was reflected from the imaginary surface.

Lieutenant Burnside had also to contend with the Indians, who were well mounted, and armed with lances and bows and arrows. One party followed his trail for more than twenty-four hours, and he only escaped through the darkness of night, which enabled him to elude his pursuers. His guide, a veteran frontier mail-rider, twice lost his way, and on one occasion they were eleven hours without water. They saw several immense herds of buffalo, which would sometimes cross their road a few hundred yards in front of them, and kneeling down, toss the dust into the air with their horns, and then dash off again, with their long beards and manes waving in the wind. They ate some of the choice parts of all which they killed, and carried a few pieces along with them, leaving the remainder for the attendant pack of wolves. When they arrived at Fort Leavenworth they were so worn out with fatigue and want of sleep, that the surgeon ordered them to be waked every half-hour, walked about for five minutes, and then fed with beef-tea.

After a few days' rest at Fort Leavenworth, Lieutenant Burnside proceeded to St. Louis, and thence to Washington, arriving there in thirty-one days after he left the Copper-mines. He delivered his dispatches to the Secretary of the Interior nearly a month before the arrival of his

competitor, Mr. Radzinski. The government, however, after reading both dispatches and hearing both of the special messengers, sustained Commissioner Bartlett and removed Colonel Graham, appointing Major W. H. Emory in his place.

Lieutenant Burnside was highly complimented at Washington on his wonderful ride, and the Secretary of War placed his name on a list from which officers were to be selected for promotion. He also gave him permission to remain at Washington and have manufactured at the arsenal a breech-loading fire-arm which he had invented, the drawings of which had received high approval from those officers of the army who had examined them. Lieutenant Burnside's attention had been called to the subject of breech-loaders while on his ride from New Mexico, when in crossing a stream one of his men accidentally let his carbine fall into the water, and the next day the lock was so rusted that it was with difficulty that it could be made serviceable. This started afresh in Lieutenant Burnside's mind the improvement of fire-arms, which had been a common topic of discussion among the United States army officers in Mexico. The muskets, carbines, and pistols carried by the soldiers who fought under Taylor and Scott differed in no essential particular from those used at Yorktown and at New Orleans, except that they were lighter. It was estimated that no one bullet fired in two hundred and fifty caused death, and it was an army saying that to kill a man it would be necessary to fire his own weight in lead before he was hit, except by accident. It was not strange, therefore, that many intelligent officers racked their brains to invent and to construct readier and more certain means for destroying human life. Old weapons, like the revolver, were revived in their integrity or with some modifications, and mechanical gun-making in-

genuity was devoted to the production and the perfection of efficient breech-loaders.

The result of Lieutenant Burnside's meditations on this subject was the production of a breech-loader which would not become so speedily heated from rapidity of fire as to impair the general utility of the weapon, while the mechanism was as secure from water or derangement as that of the muzzle-loader with its flint lock.

While in waiting at Washington, he put his thoughts into shape, and produced an arm which attracted much notice for its simplicity, its strength, and its adaptability for military uses. Several pattern arms were made under his direction at the Washington Arsenal, and when tested they proved superior to similar inventions recently made.

On the 16th of December, 1851, Lieutenant Burnside was promoted to the rank of first lieutenant, and received a furlough, that he might visit his home in Indiana. He was greeted with open arms, and his old friends were delighted to find that he not only recognized them, but could call them by their names, a wonderful faculty which he retained through life. Among those whom he met was his old partner, Mr. John M. Myers, who had served creditably in Mexico, and had risen to the command of a regiment of volunteers, with the rank of colonel.

While at home on a previous visit, Lieutenant Burnside had made many acquaintances at the neighboring town of Hamilton, Ohio. Among them was a Kentucky belle, who united to the vivacity of the North the soft and languid style of the South. She was highly educated, and her industry in acquiring knowledge was only surpassed by her conversational power to impart it to others. The young officer was dazzled by her personal beauty and accomplishments, charmed by her affability, and bewitched by her fascinations. Offering his hand, it was accepted,

the necessary license was procured, and on an appointed day the young couple stood up before a clergyman to be joined in wedlock. Asked whether he would take the bride to be his wedded wife, Burnside responded affirmatively, but when the question was put to her, whether she would take him to be her husband, she said no! and could not be prevailed upon to change her mind. This, of course, terminated the proposed marriage, to the great annoyance of the disappointed bridegroom. The amazement with which youth receives its first defeat in love came to deaden the smart of the rebuff, and then the flame which Cupid had so suddenly kindled was extinguished without a sigh.

A few years afterwards, a distinguished Ohio lawyer obtained from the same lady a promise that she would marry him, and the wedding-day was fixed. He showed her, on their way to be married, a revolver, and told her that she would return either his wife or a corpse. Prompted either by love or by fear, she replied, "I will," and she made a most devoted wife. By a curious coincidence, when, during the Rebellion, General Burnside was placed in command of the military district of the Ohio, the lady's mother and sister were arrested as they were about to go South, carrying correspondence and munition of war concealed on their persons. General Burnside ordered them sent through the lines into "Dixie," and the husband of his old lady-love had hard work to obtain from President Lincoln permission for them to return to their home.

On the 16th of March, 1852, a special order, issued by command of Major General Scott, relieved Lieutenant Burnside from duty on the Mexican Boundary Commission, and directed him to proceed without delay to join his company at Fort Adams, near Newport.



CHAPTER VII.

AT FORT ADAMS AGAIN—GARRISON DUTY—MARRIAGE TO MISS MARY R. BISHOP—LIFE IN A CASEMATE—RESIGNS HIS COMMISSION—MAJOR GENERAL OF MILITIA—VISITOR TO WEST POINT—CANDIDATE FOR CONGRESS.

A . GAIN at Fort Adams, Lieutenant Burnside was one of the hosts on "fort days," when a gay concourse would drive or ride out from Newport, to hear the fine regimental band fill the air with the concert of sweet harmony. Beautiful and elegantly dressed ladies from every section of the country would promenade to and fro, now and then returning with haughty or affable recognition the salute of a friend or acquaintance, or visiting the officers in their cosy casemates, several of which were luxuriously fitted up.

The light battery to which Lieutenant Burnside was attached was composed of picked men, active and intelligent, and was drilled by efficient officers in the performance of movements which would be very effective in an engagement. Showy additions were made to the regulation uniform, and the strict discipline enforced, the care

taken of the horses, and the confidence felt by the men in themselves and their officers, made the light battery a perfect organization. The last recruit, beneath the eye of the commander, "felt full of point of honor like a knight."

Lieutenant Burnside was not only popular with the officers and men of his command, but with the members of the volunteer militia associations of Rhode Island, who sought the acquaintance and the advice of those who had received military educations. His courteous and considerate manner — which was no outward form, but the natural result and the true reflex of his kindly disposition — made him a general favorite in the militia armories. Among the organizations with the members of which he became acquainted was the Marine Artillery Corps of Providence, which Mr. William Sprague, afterwards the War Governor of Rhode Island, had made so efficient in drill that it compared favorably with the light batteries of the regular army. At a ball given by this corps at Providence, Lieutenant Burnside met Miss Bishop, the lady who afterwards became his wife.

Lieutenant Burnside also devoted much time and thought to the breech-loading rifle which he had invented. It had been his wish that government should manufacture this weapon at the Springfield Armory. While he would not have objected to the receipt of a reasonable royalty for his invention, he did not wish it to fall into the hands of speculators, and be manufactured so cheaply that its efficacy would be impaired. Meanwhile Congress was urged to make an appropriation of \$100,000 for the best breech-loading rifle, and it was understood by those familiar with the subject, that the Burnside rifle was far superior to any other which had been brought to the notice of the Ordnance Department.

On the 27th of April, 1852, Lieutenant Burnside was married to Miss Mary Richmond Bishop, at Providence, where she had been born on the 26th of October, 1828. She was the only daughter and the youngest child of Maj. Nathaniel Bishop, who had married Fanny Windsor. Miss Bishop was a lady of courtly presence, rather tall and stately, of quiet and genial temper, self-reliant, and the possessor of earnest religious convictions. The education which she had received had been conducive to the development of feminine character.

Mrs. Burnside made the casemate at Fort Adams, in which they passed the first months of their wedded life, a happy home, where she greeted her young husband with joy-beaming eyes, and encouraged him as he advanced amid the stern realities of life. She also exerted a salutary influence in toning down the exuberance of spirits acquired in military life, and in reforming his camp habits. One day, as they were sitting together, a messenger brought in a demijohn of wine which Lieutenant Burnside had purchased at Providence, and put it down roughly on the brick floor. The wicker covering could not protect the enclosed glass vessel, which broke, and the wine was wasted. The young lieutenant, incensed by the man's carelessness, which would prevent his offering a glass of wine to visiting friends that afternoon, expressed himself in language more profane than elegant. When the man had left, Mrs. Burnside rose from her seat, went to her husband, and placing her hand on his shoulder as she looked him calmly in the face, said: "My dear, you have shocked me by swearing so. Don't, I beg of you, ever let me hear you use profane language again." From that day, an oath rarely escaped General Burnside's lips, although he was often sorely tempted to relieve his feelings by an energetic use of the king's English.

Resigning on the 1st of November, 1852, Mr. Burnside, aided by the capital of friends, established a factory for the manufacture of his breech-loading rifle at the pleasant town of Bristol, which he made his home. The "Bristol Rifle Works" were very completely equipped with the most improved machinery for manufacturing locks, barrels, and finished arms. When inspected by a board of United States army officers it met their approval as possessing facilities for manufacturing arms of the best quality, both as regarded material and workmanship. Mr. Burnside was the life of the establishment, ever on the alert to suggest some improvement in the machinery, and encouraging the workmen by commendation of their skill. At home, after the occupations of the day, his mind was constantly busy, and he read a great deal, carefully studying all available works on ordnance projectiles. It was not strange that he became very popular among his neighbors, and that he was a general favorite in the social circle of the quaint old town of Bristol.

The volunteer militia of Rhode Island recognized his military ability and his ardent attachment to the profession of arms, by which he was qualified for usefulness when preparing for war in times of peace, and in 1855 he was, at their request, placed in command of them as major-general of the volunteer militia of the State. He at once began such reforms and reorganizations as would promote the efficiency of the force, but met with obstacles in the jealousies of the local corps, some of which, regarding themselves as independent, were unwilling to submit to his authority.

In 1856 he ordered a court-martial for the trial of the commander of a Providence corps, who had refused to occupy a place assigned to him in a Fourth of July pro-

cession, alleging as an excuse for non-appearance that the weather was rainy, and that the new uniforms of the corps would be damaged. The governor of the State interfered, as commander-in-chief, and dissolved the court, whereupon General Burnside resigned his commission, and the officer who was to have been tried was elected by the Legislature as his successor.

Appointed by President Pierce one of the Board of Visitors of the United States Military Academy in 1856, General Burnside met his associates there on the second day of June, and remained in session with them until the seventeenth. He was a member of the committee on discipline, police, quarters and mess arrangements, and his practical suggestions, based upon his personal experience, were adopted by the committee, and subsequently by the Board of Visitors. The course of studies was that which he had followed a few years previous, and was theoretically that as organized by Colonel Thayer as the best fitted for an American military education — a course calculated to cultivate the powers of thought rather than crowd the memory with a general smattering of many branches of knowledge. He rightly believed, it has been said by his associates, that a military education must be founded on a mathematical training and knowledge,—hence he gave, in the course, that prominence which they have ever since retained, to mathematics, natural and experimental philosophy and engineering. An attempt made by a member of the board to suggest a change of this course of studies met with decided opposition from General Burnside, and failed.

The Board of Visitors, in their annual report, expressed in conclusion the high satisfaction which their visit had given them, saying: “Representing, as they do, fourteen dis-

trinct states of this great confederacy, coming together as strangers to each other to consult over the interests of an important national institution, they part with sentiments of profound and honest pride—sentiments which they are sure are responded to by their constituents—that their country has established so noble an institution as the United States Military Academy. While differences of opinion have occasionally existed in their consideration of the various questions of public policy which relate to the conduct of this great school, their session has been one of the greatest harmony and satisfaction; and the views which they beg leave now to present are the result of their united and concurrent labors.”

General Burnside was at this time acting with the Democratic party, and on the 4th of March, 1857, he was nominated on the second ballot, as the Democratic candidate for Congress from the Eastern district of Rhode Island. The Bristol *Phoenix*, a newspaper politically opposed to him, said of this nomination: “Our distinguished townsman, Gen. A. E. Burnside, has been honored by the Democratic convention with the nomination to the next Congress from this district. If it were possible for the General to be elected, he would fill the office with honor to the State, the town, and to himself.”

General Burnside accepted the nomination, and intended to have “stumped” the district. His business preventing this, he addressed the following letter to the voters of the Eastern district, prior to the election. The Providence *Post*, which was the recognized organ of the Democracy of Rhode Island at the time, said editorially: “All will recognize in this letter the manly frankness of an honest and earnest man—a man who can be relied upon under all circumstances, and who deals more in action than in words.”

BRISTOL, March 27, 1857.

Fellow-Citizens of the Eastern Congressional District of Rhode Island :

I have been kept from the State by urgent business ; otherwise I should, before this, have fulfilled my promise made to you in the letter of acceptance of my nomination to Congress by the Democrats of our district. I shall not be able to meet you, as I hoped, and therefore take this method of briefly expressing my views upon some of the most important political topics of the day, that those who choose to honor me with their votes may know for what they are voting.

I am in favor of a tariff that will incidentally protect home industry, home capital, and home interests, and that will enable our manufacturers to compete successfully with foreign manufacturers, without interference with the constitutional basis of our revenue laws.

I am opposed to the hasty legislation which rushed through Congress the tariff measure of the last session, and induced members to vote for a bill, the contents of which they did not know, and which may prove to be the source of great injustice to our manufacturers.

I am opposed to the wholesale giving away of the public lands to railroad corporations, and other like institutions ; at the same time, I believe that the government can encourage by gifts, great national enterprises which are for the common weal, and are so placed that they cannot properly expect local support. Such works, in my opinion, are the Atlantic and Pacific Telegraphs, and the Pacific Railroad.

I am in favor of a foreign policy that will cultivate relations of peace with all nations, and I will never give my influence, either as a private citizen or a public servant, for war, so long as it can be honorably avoided.

I am in favor of the present independent treasury system.

I am in favor of admitting any territory into the Union of States as soon as it has fulfilled the requirements of the Constitution, and shall petition for admission. A taint of injustice, bribery, outside influence or force attached to the petition, would secure for it my unconditional opposition.

The most important requirement, in my opinion, is, that the Constitution should express the unrestrained and unbiased wishes of the people. The next in importance is that the territory should have the proper number of inhabitants.

I believe that the principle of allowing the people of the states and territories to arrange their own local institutions is right, and that the general government should only interfere when it finds that the people of a territory are checked in that privilege by improper influences : and when it does interfere it should be without prejudice, and with energy.

Whether I remain a private citizen, or am made by you a public servant.

I shall give to James Buchanan's administration my humble support, so long as he is governed by the great principles laid down in his inaugural address, but I owe no allegiance to any party that will compel me to support his administration, should he depart from those principles.

Fellow-citizens, I have been in your State but five years, and am comparatively unknown. It is but just that you should know my political opinions, and this is my excuse for trespassing even thus briefly upon your patience.

(Signed), A. E. BURNSIDE.

The Native American, or Know Nothing excitement then prevailed, and but little regard was paid to the qualifications of candidates. The American candidate, Nathaniel B. Durfee, was re-elected, receiving 5,442 votes against 1,971 for General Burnside. Personally, he did not regret the defeat, and his friends felt confident that, sooner or later, the people of Rhode Island would recognize his merits and reward his services.





CHAPTER VIII.

COMPETITIVE TEST OF BREECH-LOADING WEAPONS—THE INVENTOR'S STATEMENT—REPORTS OF TWO BOARDS—DISHONORABLE PROPOSITION TO SECURE THE CONTRACT REJECTED—PECUNIARY REVERSES—RAILROAD SERVICE AT CHICAGO AND AT NEW YORK—THE THREATENING WAR-STORM—RHODE ISLAND PREPARES FOR THE FRAY.

THE long-talked of competitive test of fire-arms arrived at last. On the 17th of August, 1857, a board of officers of the army assembled at West Point for the purpose of making trials of breech-loading rifles, with the view of ascertaining which arm of this description was best suited for the military service. The board was composed of six officers, representing different branches of the service, with Lieut.-Col. B. L. Beall, of the First Dragoons, as president.

Eighteen inventors submitted their arms, which were successively tested in the order named in a list from the War Department. Each rifle was fired twenty rounds at 100 yards, and twenty rounds at 600 yards, with ammunition furnished by the inventor. The first six shots were fired by him, or by some person designated by him, and the remainder by a member of the board, or some one designated by the board. The penetration was to be determined by firing three rounds at a pine-board target, with

powder furnished by the government. To test the comparative rapidity of fire, eighteen rounds were fired by the inventor, or some one designated by him, and one hundred rounds were then fired at the 100-yard target without cleaning the piece, to test the working of the machinery.

Several of the inventors were not ready, but General Burnside was promptly on hand, and although his fire-arm stood No. 16 on the programme, his was the sixth tested. He fired the first six shots himself, and the carbine was then taken by his old room-mate, Captain Heth, who was a member of the board. The carbine weighed 6.6 pounds, the length of the barrel was 23.75 inches, and the diameter of the bore was .54 inches. The charge of 50 grains of powder was in a brass shell which weighed 173 grains, and the weight of the ball was 150 grains. A number of the shots were fired with the Maynard primer, and the remainder with percussion caps. There was no escape of gas at the joint, nor any interruption in the working of the machinery, while the use of a thick wad between the powder and the ball removed the dirt from the barrel very effectually on each discharge.

The board having requested the inventors of the arms tested to state in writing the advantages which they each claimed for their inventions, General Burnside filed the following paper :

WEST POINT, Sept. 30, 1857.

Having been requested by the board to present a statement of the advantages I claim for my arm over other "breech-loaders," I have the honor to submit the following :

My arm is simple in construction, there being no small complicated part in the breech-loading machinery.

It is strong, compact, and durable; the stock and barrel being firmly connected together, the barrel cannot become loosened in the stock by constant wear and jarring, as is the case with arms that lift up or throw down the entire barrel in the act of loading. The chamber works upon

the simplest hinge, and when locked in its place for firing is independent of that hinge. The open joints of the chamber cannot wear by firing, as they are at each fire perfectly packed by the cartridge itself, and not by metal disks or cups connected with the arm, which disks or cups would be liable to wear and break by heating, cooling, and rusting, causing the joints to open, the gas to escape, and the arm to foul in firing. The joints in my arm need not to be ground to fit; in fact, they can be the 1-32 of an inch or more open, and then be perfectly packed by the cartridge.

It is light and portable.

It can be fired with as much speed as is desirable.

It is not liable to foul in firing in either the barrel or chamber, owing to the peculiar construction of the cartridge.

The cartridge is water-tight, and can be taken from the chamber in perfect condition after loading, thereby making a great saving in the expenditure of cartridges, and securing the most necessary principle in warfare, and border-warfare particularly;—that is, a full reliance upon the efficiency of the cartridge at all times and in all weather.

The arm can be fired with loose powder and ball or paper cartridges.

The cartridge exactly fills the chamber, and the ball, as a consequence, starts from its bed with the axis corresponding with axis of the bore.

The cost of the cartridge is about double that of the paper ones, but the cases can be reloaded. The increase in cost, of course, is trifling, if they are more efficient.

I have studied to make my arm a purely military one.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed), A. E. BURNSIDE.

To the Board for Examining Breech-Loading Rifles, West Point.

The board, after careful investigation and due deliberation, made the following report, which awarded the palm to General Burnside :

After a full and careful consideration of all the arms tried, the board are of the unanimous opinion that the breech-loading rifle submitted by A. E. Burnside, of Rhode Island, is best suited for the military service.

As a breech-loading arm it is thought to be simple and strong in its parts, and therefore less liable to get out of order than any other. The cartridge is simple in its structure, strong, and perfectly protects the powder from moisture, and the gun from the clogging action of the gas.

In expressing this opinion the board do not wish to be understood as

disparaging the merits of the other guns tried, for they consider that some of them possess much merit, and evince much ingenuity in their construction.

In submitting this opinion the board feel it their duty to state that they have seen nothing in these trials to lead them to think that a breech-loading arm has yet been invented which is suited to replace the muzzle-loading gun for foot troops. On the contrary, they have seen much to impress them with an opinion unfavorable to the use of a breech-loading arm for general military purposes.

General Burnside expected that on the receipt of this award, the Secretary of War would order his arms to the amount of \$90,000, which was the unexpended balance of the appropriation. To his surprise, only three hundred carbines were ordered, and it was evident that the Secretary of War was, for some reason,—unknown to General Burnside,—unwilling that he should receive the benefits of the appropriation.

After much delay the ordnance officer appointed a new board, composed of three ordnance officers, with Major Mordecair as chairman, to test breech-loading arms. Seven carbines were presented, and were subjected to a variety of severe tests, including immersion in water without subsequent cleaning.

The board made a report, in which all of the arms were criticised as having serious defects which prevented their giving any one of them an unqualified approval. The report then said :

Being required, however, by the terms of the law, to select the "best model" of breech-loading arms, the board are of opinion that among the arms offered for their examination, the Burnside carbine is the least objectionable for use in the hands of mounted troops.

The construction of this arm seems to be sufficiently strong; it can be easily and safely loaded and handled on horseback; the movements are simple and easily understood; there is no escape of gas from the joints; the chamber and barrel are kept clean and not subject to be clogged

by fragments of the (metallic) cartridge-case; its range and accuracy of fire are very satisfactory, with a moderate charge of powder, and no inconvenient recoil.

General Burnside hoped that after this indorsement by the second board of the award, contracts to the amount of \$90,000 would at once be entered into with the "Bristol Rifle Works." But on going to Washington, he was told that Secretary Floyd hesitated about directing the contract to be made, and he received from different quarters hints that he must share the profits if he desired to receive the appropriation.

One of his classmates at West Point, a gentleman of high honor and respectability, says: "About a month after the board made its award, I visited Washington and found Burnside there. I asked him how he was getting on. He replied, 'Badly, there is something wrong, but I will know to-night.' We were occupying the same room. After midnight he came in, awoke me and said, 'I am a ruined man! I met a man to-night, by appointment, and he informed me that if I would pay \$5,000 I could get the award, otherwise not. I at once indignantly refused,'—and after a moment he added, 'there is but one thing I regret, and that is, that I did not fell him to the ground!'"

Reverses are common to all the world, but few are prepared to meet them. General Burnside had for some months been aware that unless he obtained the government appropriation, the "Bristol Rifle Works" must go into bankruptcy, and he was the better prepared for the blow. Friends offered their aid, but while he thanked them for their sympathy, he declined accepting any further pecuniary assistance. Going to New York, he assigned everything which he possessed, even the letters-patent for his invention, to the creditors of the Bristol

company, and then, walking up the Bowery as bravely as he would have approached a hostile battery, he entered a second-hand clothing store, and offered for sale his uniform, epaulettes, and sword. Receiving thirty dollars for them, he sent half of that sum, with about twenty dollars more that was in his pocket, to his wife, and started westward in search of employment.

Stopping at Liberty, he did not conceal from his boyhood's friends that he was a ruined and penniless man. He had written to his former comrade, Capt. George B. McClellan, then vice-president of the Illinois Central Railroad, and it so happened that there was a vacancy which Burnside's West Point training qualified him to fill — the position of cashier of the Railroad Land Office. He received a letter while he was lingering at Liberty, inviting him to take the place. Accepting, he repaired at once to Chicago, where he entered upon the discharge of his duties April 27, 1858. He soon sent to Rhode Island for Mrs. Burnside, and the young couple resided in the house with Captain McClellan. Reducing his expenses to the smallest possible amount, Burnside remitted the remainder of his salary to Rhode Island for the payment of his debts, and in time he paid up every obligation in full.

General Burnside soon became a favorite at Chicago, and he took a great interest in Colonel Ellsworth, who was then drilling his company of zouaves, which afterwards visited New York and other eastern cities, where their exhibition drills were much applauded. Their execution of the manual of arms and of several intricate company movements was theatrical in effect, but executed with such faultless precision and unity of action, such individual distinctness of motion, and such sympathetic obedience to the energetic young commander, as to elicit high praise, even

from West Point graduates and veterans of the Mexican war.

Although he lived a retired life while at Chicago, General Burnside enjoyed social popularity there. He was neither very witty nor a profound thinker, but he was well informed, and he always had in conversation the right sentence ready at the right time.

Giving unqualified satisfaction to the president and other officers of the Illinois Central Railroad, General Burnside was appointed, in June, 1860, treasurer of the corporation, with his office at New York City. Removing there, he assiduously devoted himself to the duties of his new office, and the following fall he visited New Orleans on the business of the Illinois Central corporation. While there he met a number of his old friends, with some of whom he held long arguments on the threatening aspect presented by the political horizon. Threats of resistance to the Federal government and a dissolution of the Union were as common in the rotunda of the St. Charles Hotel as household words, and morbid spirits brooded over the destruction of the Union with almost total indifference. General Burnside, loyal and patriotic, felt his political convictions weakening. He saw that the Democratic party was southern and geographical; that it had ceased to have any national ideas except the nationality of slavery; that it declined to protect free labor, but sought the extension of the area of slave labor; that it permitted the surrender of forts and the hauling down of the flag; and he frankly told his old southern associates that they did not understand the temper of the North. "There will be no war," said his friends. "Northern men will not fight. The South will separate herself from the Union, will set up an independent government, and

will draw to her the Middle and Western States. We shall do whatever we please, and give laws and government to the continent. The North will not fight, and the South will have an easy triumph." "You entirely mistake the character of the Northern people," said General Burnside. "They will fight. They never will allow the Union to be broken, and a free government to be thus destroyed without a contest. If you persist in your purpose of secession there will be war, a bloody and cruel war. Not only will the North fight, but she will also triumph. The experiment of secession will fail, and the South, in ruin and desolation, will bitterly repent the day when she attempted to overthrow a wise and beneficent government. Why do you seek redress for what you call your wrongs in civil war? The first gun that you fire will unite us all—whatever our political opinions may be—in opposition to your attempt. The government will be sustained, and you will suffer a disastrous defeat."

Rhode Island—although a Democratic State at that time—was meanwhile making preparations to sustain the Union, should it be assailed. Governor Sprague had visited Washington in February, 1861, and in conversation with President Buchanan and Lieutenant-General Scott, had expressed his readiness to promptly furnish a regiment of infantry and a battery of light artillery, should they be needed for the defense of the national capital. On his return to Providence the governor took measures for perfecting the drill and discipline of the volunteer militia organizations of the State, some of which had been in existence prior to the achievement of American independence. Maj. William Goddard was then sent to Washington to renew the offer of volunteers, but the old hero was powerless. "I have urged again and again," said he,

“both verbally and in writing, upon the President (Mr. Buchanan) and upon the Secretary of War (Governor Floyd), that I might be permitted to concentrate here troops for the defense of the capital, but I grieve to say, in vain. I have even this morning written to the President that, with 1,500 good troops, in addition to those now here, I would undertake to hold the capital against any force that could probably be brought against it at this time; but, alas, I can make no impression upon him. The President, sir, has a natural dread of blood-shed, and so have I. But, sir, there are cases in which a little blood-letting is the best, the only remedy, and in my opinion this is one of those cases. I have thought that, taking into account the reluctance of the President to consent to the use of the militia of the states, he might be willing to accept the services of the New York Seventh Regiment, which, having performed some services of a national character, might in some sense be regarded as a national regiment, which could be used without exciting the prejudices of which both he and the Secretary of War seem in apprehension. But, in spite of all my solicitations, I meet with nothing but refusals. And here I am! God knows how much I should desire the aid of your gallant troops, but I am powerless! The inauguration day is fast approaching, and I have but a handful of troops. I am too old to mount my horse again, but I am determined, if God spares my life, to ride in the procession with Commodore Stewart; and I think, Major, our gray hairs will be worth a thousand men!”



CHAPTER IX.

THE BOMBARDMENT OF FORT SUMTER — UPRISING OF THE LOYAL NORTH — GENERAL BURNSIDE PROMPTLY RESPONDS TO THE CALL — ORGANIZATION OF THE FIRST RHODE ISLAND REGIMENT — PRESENTATION OF A FLAG — JOURNEY TO WASHINGTON — BARRACK AND CAMP-LIFE.

AT last the crisis came! Sumter was bombarded by the fratricidal Southrons, and the indomitable energy of the North was displayed with patriotic zeal. Domestic bonds, political alliances, and commercial ties were at once rent asunder, and the great Northern heart swelled with fierce indignation. Each section appeared animated with the same earnest convictions of the integrity of its cause, but the South displayed a bitter animosity, fanned by the incendiary speeches of her leaders.

The attack made by 7,000 rebels upon the seventy worn-out Union soldiers who surrendered Fort Sumter on the 11th of April, 1861, was followed, four days later, by President Lincoln's proclamation convening Congress, and calling forth 75,000 of the militia "to maintain the honor, the integrity, and the existence of our national government, and to redress wrongs already long enough endured." This proclamation was flashed by electricity over the northern states, like the fiery cross of Roderick

Dhu, which summoned Clan-Alpine to its rendezvous, and it was everywhere received with the beating of drums and the ringing notes of the bugle, calling the Nation's defenders to their colors. Rhode Island was ready to furnish her quota without delay, and Governor Sprague, in looking around for a commander, selected General Burnside, as having a well-earned reputation for bravery, military ability and administrative talents of a high order, with a patriotic comprehension of the situation.

General Burnside, anticipating a call from the Federal government upon those who had been educated at West Point but had resigned their commissions, to again draw their swords in defense of the Nation, had balanced his books, and made preparations for a speedy departure if summoned to the field. When, as he sat in the New York office of the Illinois Central Railroad on Monday, the 15th of April, 1861, he received a dispatch from Governor Sprague, saying: "A regiment of Rhode Island troops will go to Washington this week. How soon can you come on and take command?" he promptly responded: "At once!" Turning his books over to his clerk, he left that night for Providence, and reported for duty the next morning.

Commissioned as colonel of the First Regiment of Rhode Island Detached Militia on the 16th of April, 1861, he immediately appointed his staff, and commenced the organization and equipment of his command.

General — now Colonel — Burnside's activity, energy, industry, and military training accomplished wonders. He superintended the manufacture of a serviceable uniform, consisting of a dark blue blouse, gray trowsers, broad-brimmed felt hats, and black waist-belts. He had the thick scarlet blanket of each man converted into a Mexi-

can *poncho*, by cutting a slit in the centre through which the head could be put, leaving the blanket resting as a cloak on the shoulders. He instructed officers and drilled enlisted men; he was quartermaster, commissary, farrier, and surgeon, and his promptness electrified not only the regiment, but the entire population of Rhode Island.

The ladies of Providence met in the church-vestries to aid in making the uniforms, and more recruits presented themselves than could be accepted without exceeding the prescribed number of men. There were in the ranks several young gentlemen possessing large fortunes, and others equally fitted by nature and education for almost any administrative position, with a large number of skillful mechanics, embracing nearly every trade. As a whole, this regiment of the Rhode Island Detached Militia was a noble specimen of the citizens of Rhode Island, patriotic, of gentleman-like deportment, loyal, and eager to distinguish themselves in the defense of their country. As was sung in the company armories :

“ The gallant young men of Rhode Island
Are marching in haste to the wars ;
Full girded for strife, they are hazarding life,
In defense of our banner and stars.”

The day previous to the departure of the regiment, the ladies of Providence presented to it a national flag, made of silk, accompanied by the following letter :

*To the First Regiment of Rhode Island Volunteers,
From the Ladies of Providence.*

With this banner Rhode Island places her honor in your hands. May God protect you in your noble cause. God save the Union !

PROVIDENCE, April 19, 1861.

Colonel Burnside, on the receipt of the flag, addressed the following letter to those who had presented it :



THE OUTBREAK OF THE REBELLION.

HEADQUARTERS RHODE ISLAND MILITIA.

To the Ladies of Providence :

I know the soldiers I carry away will prove themselves worthy of the beautiful banner presented to them by you.

We are fully impressed with the fact that we take with us your most fervent prayers, and we shall constantly feel that your eyes are upon us.

God grant that we may yet see the Union out of danger. Bidding you an affectionate farewell, and thanking you in behalf of my command for your kindness, I am ever yours,

(Signed),

A. E. BURNSIDE,

Colonel First Regiment Detached Militia.

It having been determined to send away one-half of the

regiment as soon as it could be uniformed and equipped, to be followed by the other half, detachments of one-half of each company paraded on Saturday morning, the 20th of April, and Colonel Burnside formally took command. The regiment was reviewed by Governor Sprague, and was afterwards eloquently addressed by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Clark, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, who, on the conclusion of his remarks, offered a short but earnest prayer in behalf of the brave men going forth to aid in subduing the rebellion. That afternoon the regiment left Providence on a steamer amid the firing of cannon and the cheers of an assembled multitude.

Arriving at New York, the regiment was transferred to the government transport, "Coatzacoalcas." Colonel Burnside was called upon by the crowd assembled on the wharf to make a speech, but all that he could be finally prevailed on to say was, "I'll make a speech when I come back." The transport conveyed the regiment to Annapolis, where it arrived on the afternoon of the 24th of April.

The Eighth Massachusetts Volunteers, and the Seventh, or National Guard Regiment, of New York, had reached there previously, and the sturdy mechanics of the Massachusetts Eighth had reconstructed the disabled railway between Annapolis and the Junction; but the First Rhode Island Regiment, which reached Washington on the morning of the 26th of April, was the first organization that had arrived completely uniformed, armed, and supplied with provisions and ammunition for a three-weeks campaign.

While on the march from Annapolis to the Junction, the regiment bivouacked, and had just prepared its first camp-meal when the New York Seventy-first came up, tired and hungry. They were hospitably entertained, and one of

their number celebrated the visit in a song, which was afterwards heard before many a camp-fire. The closing verses of this song will give an idea of the whole :

" The Rhode Island boys cheered us on out of sight,
After giving the following injunction :
' Just keep up your courage — you'll get there to-night,
For 'tis only nine miles to the Junction.'

" They gave us hot coffee, a grasp of the hand,
Which cheer'd and refreshed our exhaustion,
We reached in six hours the long-promised land,
For 'twas only nine miles to the Junction."

Arriving at Washington on the 26th of April, the Rhode Island regiment was temporarily quartered in the Patent Office, where bunks were erected for their accommodation between the glass cases containing models. On Sunday, the 28th, religious services were held in the large halls of the building, where many spectators, including a number of ladies, were present. The chaplain, the Rev. Augustus Woodbury, delivered an able discourse, taking as his text the third verse of the second chapter of First Timothy. After the sermon the whole regiment united in singing *Old Hundred*, accompanied by the band. The effect was inspiring and imposing.

On the 1st of May a large American flag, purchased by the clerks in the Interior Department, was raised on the south front of the Patent Office. The Rhode Island regiment was under arms in the street facing the building, and on the roof of the portico was the Washington City Rifle Corps. At noon President Lincoln, accompanied by Secretary Seward and other members of his Cabinet, appeared on the portico, and the President hoisted the flag to the top of the staff, where the breeze at once displayed its fair proportions amid the hearty cheers of the soldiers and of

the multitude. Three cheers were then given for the President, and three more for the Secretary of State, both of whom gracefully but silently acknowledged the compliments. The Rhode Island regiment then gave nine cheers for the stars and stripes, and were drilled in the manual by Colonel Burnside, displaying a steadiness and unity of movement worthy of veterans. Mr. Lincoln then advancing to the front, the regiment presented arms, a salute which he acknowledged by raising his hat. He had intended to address the regiment, but the strong wind would have prevented their hearing him, had he spoken.

On Thursday, the 2d of May, the Rhode Island regiment marched to the grounds east of the Capitol, where they were mustered in by Major McDowell, then connected with the Adjutant-General's Department. The regiment was formed in a hollow square, and the American flag was brought into the centre. General Thomas, of the War Department, who was the magistrate of the district, read the oath of fealty to the men on each side of the square successively. Each man then raised aloft his right hand, and swore forever to sustain his country, and to follow her flag. The band then played "The Star Spangled Banner," and the last beams of the setting sun illuminated the marble statue by Crawford of the "Father of His Country."

After remaining at the Patent Office a fortnight, the Rhode Island regiment went into camp on the farm of Mr. George Keating, about two miles northeast of the city. A miniature town was laid out on the slope of a hill which commanded a view of the metropolis in all its straggling magnificence. The streets which intersected it were named after those of Providence, and temporary edifices were constructed, one-half of each being fitted up with bunks for a dormitory, while the other half, open at the sides like the

porch of a house, formed a sitting-room and an eating-room. On these houses were signs bearing their names, such as "Chateau de Burnside," "Woodbury Castle," "Aldrich House," etc.



ANNAPOLIS JUNCTION.

The life of the regiment was by no means that of a continuous pleasure excursion. Rising with the sun, the men breakfasted early, and the greater part of the day was occupied in fatiguing drills. Household—or rather barrackhold—duties required no little time, and it was a somewhat amusing sight to see young men who had been well bred, busily engaged in sweeping, washing dishes and tin cups, or mending stockings. All this was, however, done with the utmost cheerfulness and good humor. Each small structure was the home of a perfect democracy, which had equality and fraternity (if not always liberty) as its watchword.

Colonel Burnside proved himself to be "the right man in the right place," and soon won the love and the respect of his command. Many of the men who had always lived in luxury found it a novel task to be set at scrubbing floors, cleaning quarters, or brushing musket-barrels, but they cheerfully and promptly obeyed their colonel's orders.

He had to look after the most minute matters of detail, and, like the Barber of Seville, "he was here—he was there—he was everywhere." His government was the autocracy of love, sleepless in vigilance, yet not oppressive in discipline; no deviation from duty escaped his eye, and no display of merit passed unnoticed. His foresight never failed, and his prudence and judgment were eminently displayed.

While the red-shirted New York Fire Zouaves, commanded by Colonel Ellsworth, created some consternation at Washington by their frolicsome fights, and their appropriation of eatables and drinkables, with an impudent request that the bill be sent to Jeff Davis, at Richmond, the Rhode Island regiment became a great favorite at the national capital. Colonel Burnside and his officers were invited to social entertainments given by leading officials and citizens, and their encampment was a fashionable resort every pleasant afternoon. President Lincoln, members of the diplomatic corps, congressmen, and officers of other regiments were frequent spectators of the evening dress-parades, with their fine music, which were always closed with impressive religious exercises.

On the 10th of June the first Rhode Island Regiment left its pleasant quarters to join General Patterson's command in a demonstration against the Confederate forces then occupying Harper's Ferry, under Gen. Joe Johnston. The weather was warm and the march was fatiguing, but Colonel Burnside trudged along on foot with the men, his colored servant leading his horse, ready for him to mount if the emergency required. The Rev. Mr. Woodbury, the chaplain of the regiment, said afterwards of Colonel Burnside:

"His care for his command, his personal supervision,

and his readiness to share in the burdens of the humblest soldiers were very remarkable. Every morning he visited the hospital-tent, to see that the sick were properly attended to. Every evening he went the rounds of the camp and through the quarters, to see that all was as it



HARPER'S FERRY.

should be for the night. His discipline was strict, and he knew how to rebuke delinquencies. But the men loved him, as children love a father. For they knew that, while he required of them a complete obedience, and that they would not be spared when duty was to be done, they would not be harassed and worried. They looked up to their commanding officer with a kind of filial affection and devotion."

Meanwhile Colonel Burnside's hopes of securing the adoption of his breech-loading rifle were renewed. A company was formed in Providence which manufactured the weapon, using a variety of machines, nicely adjusted and precisely accurate in their movements, turning out the different parts, which had only to be put together by hand. A company of sharpshooters, armed with this weapon, was formed in the First Rhode Island Regiment, and Colonel Burnside had thus an opportunity of witnessing its usefulness in actual service.

After marching to and fro in Maryland the regiment was recalled to Washington for important service, and reoccupied its old encampment on the 25th of June. Officers and men were weather-bronzed and hardened by this brief campaign, and the veteran appearance of the regiment as it marched down Pennsylvania Avenue on its return prompted a camp-poet to record its praises in the following words, which were sung that night by the vocalists of the different regiments then at the national capital:

"Of all the true host that New England can boast,
From down by the sea unto highland,
No state is more true, or willing to do,
Than dear little Yankee Rhode Island!
Loyal and true Little Rhody, —
Bully for you, Little Rhody, —
Governor Sprague was not very vague,
When he said: 'Shoulder arms! Little Rhody.'"





CHAPTER X.

CONCENTRATION OF CONFEDERATE FORCES AT MANASSAS — "ON TO RICHMOND" — CAMP SERVICES — GENERAL PATTERSON CHECKMATED — WAR BALLOONS — ORGANIZATION OF THE GRAND ARMY OF THE UNION — BURNSIDE'S BRIGADE — ADVANCE INTO VIRGINIA — CAPTURE OF FAIRFAX COURT HOUSE — POLITICAL ADVISERS.

THE Confederates had meanwhile concentrated their available forces at Manassas, a gorge through the eastern spur of the Blue Ridge, through which the road from Washington to Richmond passed. It took its name from the landlord of a small hotel there, who was widely known and much esteemed for his kind heart and good cheer, and travelers would often add many miles to their day's journey, that they might spend the night with "Old Manassas." It was a commanding position, selected with great strategic skill, and fortified in part by nature, the plateau being equidistant between the almost impassable heights of the Blue Ridge on the one hand, and the Potomac on the other.

Here General Beauregard, who was a skillful engineer, constructed a line of earth-works some two miles in length, with angles, salients, bastions, and casemates. On the left of these fortifications were the head waters of the tortu-

ous creek known as Bull Run, with wooded banks, which could easily be made impassable by the felling of trees ; — and on the right was rolling land so rough and rugged that it was a defense in itself. Bull Run wound its way along in front of the Confederates' fortified position, between steep and rocky banks, and although there were several long-used fords, they were only known to the Confederates. The position was carefully selected, and the Confederates waited there in anxious expectation of the arrival of the Union troops. They were kept informed as to what transpired at Washington, not only in public, but in the War Department and the military committees of Congress.

President Lincoln and the members of his administration were, meanwhile, using every exertion to form an army which would overcome the Confederate forces known to be at Manassas. There had been so much progress and improvement in everything in the science of war, in the comforts of the soldier, in all kinds of mechanical inventions, in the mutual courtesy of combatants, and everything else, that people fancied battles would be fought as cleanly and as smoothly as a game of chess, or a sham fight on the vacant land east of the Capitol. The only difficulty was to see how the war would be decided. Some thought it would be an affair of tactics, others that it would be a question of improved rifles, or of long-range artillery, and there were those who believed that the North, with its mechanical and scientific resources, would win an easy victory, and bring the war to a speedy termination.

Others, at the North, desired the abolition of slavery more than they did a restoration of the Union with that institution. They feared a compromise and a reconciliation, and they echoed the shout, "On to Richmond!" first

raised in the New York *Tribune*, by Mr. Fitz Henry Warren, of Iowa, and taken up over the entire North.

Colonel Burnside and others at Washington who were versed in the art of war, endeavored to check this desire for a forced movement. They knew that while poets may be born, soldiers must be made, and that it remained to be seen whether they would be manœuvred and handled against a foe. But the politicians would not listen to the experienced soldiers, and the "Grand Army of the Union" was organized for an advance movement.

The camp of the Rhode Island regiment became a favorite resort, and its chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Woodbury, had large audiences at his Sunday services. There was a martial clang in the preacher's eloquence that consorted well with the aspect of his congregation, the larger portion of whom were in uniform. Like a modern Peter the Hermit, he preached the duty of righteous war; like a sacred Tyrtæus, he stirred in poetic prose the manhood of his listeners. Perhaps the fertility and freedom of his allusions to historical battles rather reminded them of the monotonous labor of the armorer hammering home his rivets with reiterated blows; but certainly if the test of an effective discourse is the attention of the audience, it must be acknowledged that the patriotic preacher harped on the heart-strings of those whom he addressed.

Meanwhile it was believed at Washington that General Patterson was keeping General Johnston in check at Winchester, that he might not join General Beauregard when the United States forces advanced. Patterson had written to the Secretary of War: "Give me the means of success. You have the means—place them at my disposal, and shoot me if I do not use them to advantage." Men and supplies were furnished, but Johnston had his troops in

such position that on the first notification from General Beauregard he quietly started for Manassas, while General Patterson actually began on the same day to march in the opposite direction.

It is now known that General Beauregard was kept perfectly well informed of all that was going on at Washington, and of the intention of the administration to have the Union troops force their way to Richmond. It was a most critical moment for the Confederate leaders, for if their army was defeated they had no more resources for carrying on the war to fall back upon; besides, if the South should be defeated, there could be no hope of recognition from any European power.

Washington presented at this time the appearance of a vast camp, and troops were quartered in nearly all of the public buildings. The Capitol was crowded with armed men, and its elegantly adorned and furnished committee-rooms were used as dormitories. The passages of the basement were filled with barrels of flour and pork, and a large bakery was fitted up there, which supplied all the troops in and around the city with bread.

The Rhode Island regiments and the New York Seventh received many social attentions, although a large majority of the residents sympathized more or less with secession, and regarded the coming contest as an "abolition war." Beside the public buildings, but few houses displayed the stars and stripes, and rebel spies went and came without molestation.

Among other novel munitions of war sent from Rhode Island for the use of the regiments from that State, were two balloons, to be used for reconnoitering purposes, with a skillful aeronaut to manage them. Before they could be used, they came to an untimely end. One collapsed sud-

denly while it was being inflated, and the other got away from those who were holding it by ropes, and was torn to pieces. Balloon observations were not then a success.

Lieutenant-General Scott retained the direction of all military movements, and the command of the "Grand Army of the Union" was entrusted to General McDowell. He had distinguished himself at the military academy at West Point, and had served gallantly in Mexico, but he was destitute of experience in the handling of large bodies of men.



GEN. IRVIN MCDOWELL.

Colonel Burnside was made commander of the Second Brigade, in the Second Division, which was commanded by Col. David Hunter, of the Third Cavalry. Colonel Burnside's brigade embraced the First and Second Rhode Island regiments, the Seventy-first New York, the Second New Hampshire, and the second battery of Rhode Island Artillery. As was the case in the other brigades, the troops thus brigaded had never been manœuvred together, nor had their commander any personal knowledge of many of the officers or men. But the politicians at Washington insisted upon an immediate advance. They saw with admiration the gallant appearance of the different regiments that were to compose the advancing column, and they could not but believe that it would be gloriously successful.

At length, on Tuesday, the 16th of July, 1861, General

Scott ordered General McDowell to move forward, towards Richmond. The troops began at an early hour to prepare for the march, taking three days' cooked rations, ammunition, and rubber-blankets, but leaving their knapsacks behind. The effect of the column, as it passed across the long bridge over the Potomac into Virginia, was imposing. The rays of the afternoon sun glistened on forests of glittering steel, as wave after wave of armed men was swept along by the torrent of war, with bands playing martial airs, and flags fluttering in the breeze.

Colonel Burnside was loaded down with bouquets as he rode at the head of his improvised brigade, giving and receiving hearty cheers. Crossing the Potomac, the column advanced unmolested into Virginia, and bivouacked that night at Annandale. Each regiment stacked arms, and occupied the space behind its line. Camp-fires were soon lighted, coffee was made, and the rations of cooked meat and hard-tack were enjoyed. Canteens were filled with water at the nearest wells, pipes were lighted, and miniature councils of war were held, to discuss the situation and the probabilities of success. Long before "taps" nearly every tired soldier had gone to sleep, and from the dim light of each smouldering fire radiated grave-like mounds of slumbering men, each shrouded in a blanket.

Before "reveille" was sounded, the bivouac was astir. The fires were replenished, coffee was made, guns and equipments were cleaned, staff-officers and orderlies rode to and fro, and soon after sunrise the well-known strains of the "assembly" summoned every officer and man to his colors.

Marching along the Leesburg turnpike towards Fairfax Court House, the column, headed by Colonel Burnside's brigade, proceeded unmolested until within about a mile of

the town. Here, earth-works had been thrown up across the turnpike, with embrasures for three guns, and in front of them trees had been felled to obstruct the advance. But none of the enemy were to be found, although unextinguished camp-fires and the feed-bags of horses showed that about two hundred men, with three pieces of artillery, had passed the night there. On the approach of the Union troops, they had made a precipitate retreat, leaving fresh meat, cooking utensils, entrenching tools, and some knapsacks.

While the pioneers were clearing the turnpike of the fallen trees, three men—two Rhode Island skirmishers and a correspondent—pushed on into the town, and found it deserted. Soon afterwards, the column marched into the main street, the men cheering for the Union, and the bands playing the “Star Spangled Banner.” The Confederate flag on the court house was hauled down, and the national ensign hoisted in its place.

Colonel Burnside, on finding the town evacuated by the Confederates, ordered a detachment of cavalry which had been added to his brigade to pursue the retreating foe. They galloped after them, but the weather was very hot, and as the infantry could not come up, the pursuit was discontinued, and the brigade bivouacked at Centreville.

This bloodless victory, resulting in the capture of a village garrisoned by Confederates without the firing of a gun, was telegraphed over the northern states as the glorious initial victory of a successful campaign. Those who had advocated the “On to Richmond” policy were jubilant, and they predicted that the “Grand Army of the Union” would occupy Richmond within a week. Colonel Burnside, with other experienced officers who were versed in the art of war, thought differently, and had grave appre-

hensions that they were being entrapped in a position from which escape would be difficult.

An attempt by another column to cross Bull Run at Blackburn's ford was unsuccessful, as it was successfully defended by General Longstreet's brigade. General McDowell, finding that the enemy's works could not be carried by assault, concentrated the Union troops the next day at Centreville, and then, following advice received from General Scott, he determined to make a flank movement, pass around the fortified fords of Bull Run, and attack the enemy at Manassas.

Colonel Burnside, in a brief speech which he made at a public reception given him by the citizens of Providence on his return there, expressed his unreserved opinion that the advance on Manassas should not have been made when it was. "I called upon General McDowell," said he, "and expressed my dissent to the policy of fighting the enemy at that time. Senator Wilson was present, and looked at me when I made the remark as though I was a coward. General McDowell said, 'If I do not fight them to-morrow I cannot do it in six months.' 'Better,' said I, 'wait that time than hazard a battle now.' General McDowell invited a meeting of officers at his headquarters on the night before the battle, but he (McDowell) was not present until ten o'clock, and then nothing was to be heard but the reception of orders for the following day."

The baneful influence of politicians in the war was then for the first time manifested, destroying not only the usefulness but the reputations of some of the best generals of the Union army, and putting the very life of the Republic in jeopardy. Accomplished officers, like Colonel Burnside, who had energetically aided in building up an army, were powerless before a lot of politicians, who had never

conferred any blessing on the country before the war, and who never after the declaration of hostilities proposed to take a musket and march against the enemy, although a few of them raised regiments, which they gallantly led to Washington, and then turned over to the command of subordinates. It was these politicians who had besieged General Scott at Washington, and who had insisted on his ordering General McDowell to move, via Manassas, "On to Richmond."





CHAPTER XI.

COMMANDS A BRIGADE — THE BATTLE OF BULL RUN — GALLANTRY
OF THE RHODE ISLAND TROOPS — STONEWALL JACKSON NAMED
— AN ARTILLERY DUEL — CONFEDERATE REINFORCEMENTS —
PANIC, RETREAT, AND ROUT.

BEFORE day, on the morning of Sunday, July 21, 1861, the "Grand Army of the Union" began to move forward, and soon the continued rumble of the artillery wheels and the measured tread of masses of men were heard, as they moved along, apparently as resistless as the sweep of destiny. There was not in that mighty host a more gallant brigade than that which was commanded by Colonel Burnside, and he was, physically and mentally, a model leader. Possessing a West Point training, well versed in the art of war, and familiar with the details of army routine, he had a tall and robust frame, buoyancy of manner, and a spirit of perpetual elasticity, with a desire to soften the rigors of martial law. He wore the blue blouse which had been adopted as the uniform of his Rhode Island regiment, with a broad-brimmed Kosuth hat, and when mounted on his favorite horse, "Major," it was evident that the saddle was to him a familiar seat.

The sun rose in a cloudless sky, and the scene became an extraordinary one, as the advancing columns of Union soldiers, with their glistening bayonets and gay flags, moved through the primeval forests of the Old Dominion. Meanwhile there arrived from Washington at the headquarters in the rear, a crowd of spectators, consisting of members of Congress, correspondents, contractors, and camp-followers, with a number of ladies, who came in a variety of vehicles to witness the fight, as they would have gone to see a horse-race, or to witness a Fourth of July procession. Some of them holding official positions did not hesitate to intrude themselves upon General McDowell, and to offer him their advice. Others, unpacking baskets of provisions, enjoyed their lunch after the cannonading showed that the action had commenced.

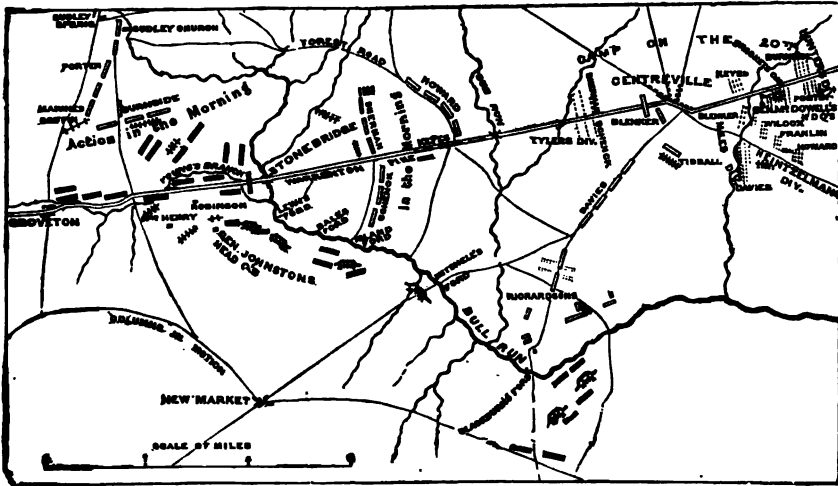
General McDowell having abandoned General Scott's original plan of carrying Manassas by a direct assault, had determined, with the approval of those in authority at Washington, to endeavor to turn the left flank of the enemy. He was not aware that Johnston was joining Beauregard, and he sent a strong detachment towards Gainesville to prevent such a union. There were five different fords across Bull Run, each one defended by Confederate batteries, with their supporting bodies of infantry. McDowell ordered General Tyler with a heavy force to advance on the direct line by the turnpike towards Manassas, and make a feigned attack on the works which defended the stone bridge; meanwhile Colonel Hunter's division was to start before daylight and make a flank movement through the woods to Sudley ford, where there were no defenses. Crossing Bull Run at that point, Hunter was to move down the opposite bank of the stream to the Red-house ford, where he would secure the passage

of Heintzelman's division. The two divisions would then move jointly down to the stone bridge, where they would secure the crossing of Tyler's division, and enable him to cross and join in the combined attack on Manassas.

Hunter's division moved forward towards Sudley ford at an early hour, but was delayed, and did not reach there until half-past nine o'clock in the morning, nearly four hours behind time. When Burnside's brigade, which headed the column, had reached the ford and began to cross, a column of the enemy made its appearance to resist them. Colonel Burnside ordered Colonel Slocum, of the Second Rhode Island Regiment, to throw out skirmishers, and to support them with his regiment, accompanied by its battery of six thirteen-pound rifle-guns. Advancing until an open field was reached, a spirited engagement was commenced, and for a short time Burnside's brigade had to sustain the shock, engaging Wheat's Louisiana Battery, Sloan's South Carolina Regiment, and Bee's Georgia and Mississippi Brigade. Soon after the firing commenced Colonel Burnside was ordered by General Hunter, who was leaving the field severely wounded, to assume command of that portion of the division in presence of the enemy. Finding that the Second Rhode Island Regiment was closely pressed by the enemy, Colonel Burnside ordered the Seventy-first New York and the Second New Hampshire to advance, intending to hold the First Rhode Island in reserve, but owing to delay in the formation of the two first-named regiments, the First Rhode Island was at once ordered on the field of battle, and bore the brunt of the contest.

The Rhode Island men then showed by their gallantry and coolness that their colonel's labors had produced the finest results. Major Balch, who was in command, gal-

lantly led the regiment into action, where it performed efficient service in assisting its comrades to repel the attack of the enemy's forces. The Second Rhode Island had, with the dogged courage of the Anglo-Saxon race, bravely



MAP OF THE BULL RUN BATTLE-FIELD.

stood its ground, eventually compelling the enemy to give way. At this time Colonel Slocum fell, mortally wounded, and soon after, Major Ballou was very seriously injured by a cannon-ball that killed his horse and crushed one of his legs. Yet the Second Regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Wheaton, continued gallantly to hold its position, and the enemy fell before its deadly fire, like leaves in the autumn.

Colonel Martin, of the Seventy-first New York Regiment, next led his men into action, and planting his two howitzers upon the right of his line, had them effectually worked against the enemy's troops. The battery of the

Second Rhode Island Regiment, on a knoll upon the extreme right, soon succeeded in silencing the heavy masked battery of the enemy in front, occasionally throwing in shot and shell upon the enemy's infantry, six regiments of which were attempting to force Colonel Burnside's position. The Second New Hampshire Regiment, Colonel Marston, then brought into the field, rendered great service, and the whole brigade pouring in a destructive fire, compelled the enemy to retreat. Heintzelman's division, with Ricketts' superior light battery of six ten-pounder rifle-guns, was equally successful, and Sherman's brigade, also crossing Bull Run, participated in the fierce and destructive conflict. The shattered Confederate battalions were forced to retreat under a deadly fire, and the prospect of a Union victory appeared certain. The news was carried to the rear, and soon the telegraph had flashed the intelligence through the entire North that the Federal troops were winning a glorious victory.

At noon the scene of the battle, as described by eyewitnesses, was unutterably sublime. The unceasing roar of artillery echoed far and wide, like protracted peals of thunder, and for upwards of a mile the Virginia side of the Bull Run valley was like a boiling crater, from which arose dense clouds of dust and smoke. Then it was that the advance-guard of Gen. Joe Johnston arrived, with the force which General Patterson had failed to hold in check. Among the first reinforcements was the Virginia Brigade, composed of five regiments, and commanded by General Jackson. General Beauregard, well-nigh overwhelmed, greeted General Jackson with the pathetic exclamation, "General, they are beating us back," to which the latter promptly replied: "Sir, we'll give them the bayonet." General Beauregard immediately rallied his over-tasked

troops with the words: "There is Jackson, standing like a stone-wall; let us determine to die here, and we will conquer." From that day General Jackson was known by the soldiers on both sides as "Stonewall Jackson."

About two o'clock in the afternoon General Beauregard gave the order for the right of his line to advance and recover the plateau from which they had been driven. This was done with great bravery, and at the same time Jackson's brigade pierced the Union lines with the determination of veterans. The fresh reinforcements came up, and the fighting on the plateau was desperate. The cleared land in the vicinity of the Henry House was the scene of an artillery duel. On one side were the Union batteries, commanded by Ricketts and Griffin, and on the other, thirteen Confederate guns poured forth grape and canister. Suddenly Griffin saw a regiment advancing from the woods towards his battery, and was about to open fire upon them, when he was told by Major Barry that they were coming to support him. "But I think they are Confederates," replied Griffin, "as certain as the world, they are Confederates." "No;" answered Barry, "I know they are coming to support you." Griffin hastened to his pieces and told the officers in command not to fire. Had they fired at that moment it would have almost annihilated the advancing regiment. But the tables were turned, and the next moment the regiment fired a volley at the batteries which killed or wounded nearly every officer and man. The frightened horses, deprived of their riders, started down the hill on a full run with the caissons, scattering the advancing troops.

The regiment of New York Zouaves, which had been ordered to support the battery, was seized with a panic, and fled in wild disorder. Words and threats were un-

availing in stopping men who had lost all presence of mind, and only longed for absence of body. A desperate contest then took place for the possession of the guns of these disabled batteries. Three successive times did the rebels capture them, and three successive times the batteries were recovered, to be again lost. Regiment after regiment was sent into the fight, and the Union troops, finally recovering their ground and their guns, renewed the offensive. Several of the Confederate regiments were almost annihilated. On either side soldiers no longer recognized their officers, nor the officers their men, and it was scarcely possible to procure any obedience to orders.

By this time it was three o'clock in the afternoon, and the Union troops had been on duty since two o'clock in the morning, much of the time on the march or in action. Three days' provisions had been served out to them the night before, but many had thrown them away on the march or during the battle, and were without food. Just then it became known to the Confederates that they had been reinforced by Johnston's army, while the presence of Jefferson Davis, the President of the Confederacy, inspired them with fresh courage. The rebel sharp-shooters, occupying the woods, opened a deadly fire on the Union regiments, and Stuart's cavalry brigade, sweeping to and fro, cut down hundreds of stragglers. The panic became general, and disorder soon degenerated into a retreat.

"Finding," said General McDowell in his official report, "that this state of affairs was beyond the efforts of all those who had assisted so faithfully during the long and hard day's work in gaining almost the object of our wishes, and that nothing remained on the field but to recognize what we could no longer prevent, I gave the necessary orders to protect their withdrawal, begging the men

to form in line, and offer the appearance, at least, of organization. They returned by the fords to the Warrenton road, protected, by my order, by Colonel Porter's force of regulars. Once on the road, and the different corps coming together in small parties, many without officers, they became intermingled, and all organization was lost."

Colonel Burnside's brigade encountered the enemy's fire for four hours, receiving crashing volleys of grape-shot and musketry, and sustaining a loss of 123 killed and 236 wounded. Relieved by Colonel Sherman's brigade, Burnside's men were withdrawn from the front, to rest and to receive a fresh supply of ammunition preparatory to orders for another advance. But the order was not to advance — but to "cover the retreat on Centreville," and stragglers began to pass to the rear in great numbers. Once in retreat, the regiments became uncontrollable masses of men, and there was an individual stampede for safety.

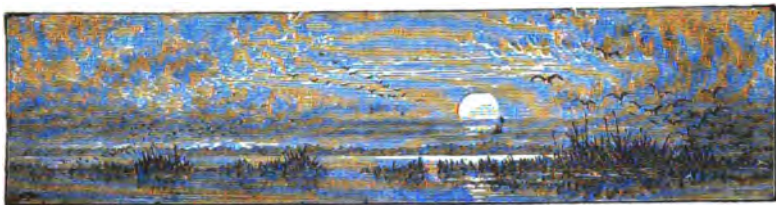
When the first rush of fugitives had passed, Colonel Burnside, who had kept his brigade together, formed in column and retired in comparatively good condition, Reynolds' and Arnold's batteries of artillery and Armstrong's company of regular dragoons bringing up the rear. The retreat of the brigade continued in tolerably good order until a bridge was reached over a little stream called Cub Run, which was commanded by a Confederate light battery, making it necessary for the retreating Union force to cross the bridge under fire. "The enemy opened fire," says Burnside's report, "upon the retreating mass of men. Upon the bridge crossing Cub Run, a shot took effect upon the horses of a team that was crossing. The wagon was overturned directly in the centre of the bridge, and the passage was completely obstructed. The enemy continued to play his artillery upon the train, carriages,

ambulances, and artillery wagons that filled up the road, and these were reduced to ruin. The artillery could not possibly pass, and five pieces of the Rhode Island battery, which had been safely brought off the field, were here lost."

The guns of two other Union batteries were also lost in the retreat. Indeed, only the batteries of Griffin and Ricketts were lost in the main battle. The retreat became a rout, and Colonel Burnside, seeing that his brigade could not cross the bridge, ordered the men to ford the creek and rally at Centreville. While his command moved there with little demoralization, others fled panic-stricken in a disorderly rout. Army-wagons, hacks containing spectators of the affray, correspondents on horseback, and sutlers' teams choked the road, amid clouds of dust and crowds of horror-stricken fugitives. But it is very evident that an account of this retreat written by the correspondent of the *London Times* was greatly exaggerated. The terrified Briton evidently "drew on his imagination for his facts."

Colonel Burnside's brigade found at Centreville the bivouacs which they had left in the morning, and were preparing to pass the night there, when orders were received from General McDowell to move on to Washington. Marching all night, with occasional halts, the brigade reached Washington early on the morning of July 22, and the Rhode Island regiments were back in their old camp at nine o'clock.

It was well said of Colonel Burnside that his bearing in all the experiences of the day and night, the battle and the march, was all that could be expected of a man and a soldier, and he at once attracted the attention of the country to his gallantry, generalship, and skill.



CHAPTER XII.

THE LESSON OF BULL RUN — RETURN OF THE FIRST RHODE ISLAND REGIMENT — APPOINTMENT AS BRIGADIER-GENERAL — ORGANIZATION OF THE COAST DIVISION — DEPARTURE OF THE ARMADA — TERRIFIC GALE OFF HATTERAS — LANDING ON ROANOKE ISLAND.

THE battle of Bull Run was a severe rebuke to the politicians who had forced it, while it displayed the superior military skill and scientific strategy of the Confederate leaders. The Union officers, obeying orders, hurled their undisciplined forces into the fight, as though muscle and the musket could decide the day. The Confederate officers economized their forces, avoided any needless exposure of the men, utilized their artillery, and compensated for weakness of battalions by strength of position. But the Union troops fought like veterans, marching gallantly into the concentrated batteries, and loading and firing under fire with the precision of veterans. Volunteers never displayed more bravery, and but for the loss of some officers, and the cowardice of others, the ignorance of the roads, and the want of rallying-points, the retreat — unexpected, as it was disastrous — would have been avoided. The Confederates found themselves in no condition to follow up the victory which they had gained, and to press on to Washington.

Resuming the command of the First Rhode Island Regiment, Colonel Burnside tendered its services to President Lincoln, its term of service having expired on the Saturday previous to the battle. His officers and men shared



COM. L. M. GOLDSBOROUGH.

in his desire to remain so long as the capital was in danger, but when it was evident that the Confederates did not propose to move on Washington, the three-months regiments were all ordered to their respective states, where three-years regiments were being recruited. President Lincoln and Secretary Seward rode out to the camp on the day following the

return of the regiment, to personally compliment General Burnside, and to speak words of encouragement to the men.

On the night of the 25th of July, the First Rhode Island Regiment broke camp and started for Providence, where it arrived on Sunday morning, the 28th. Addresses of welcome and of congratulation were delivered by Lieutenant-Governor Arnold and the Rt. Rev. Bishop Clark, and on the 2d of August, 1861, the officers and men were mustered out of service. The General Assembly of Rhode Island voted its thanks to the regiment and to Colonel Burnside, and Brown University, at its Commencement in September, honored him with the degree of Master of Arts.

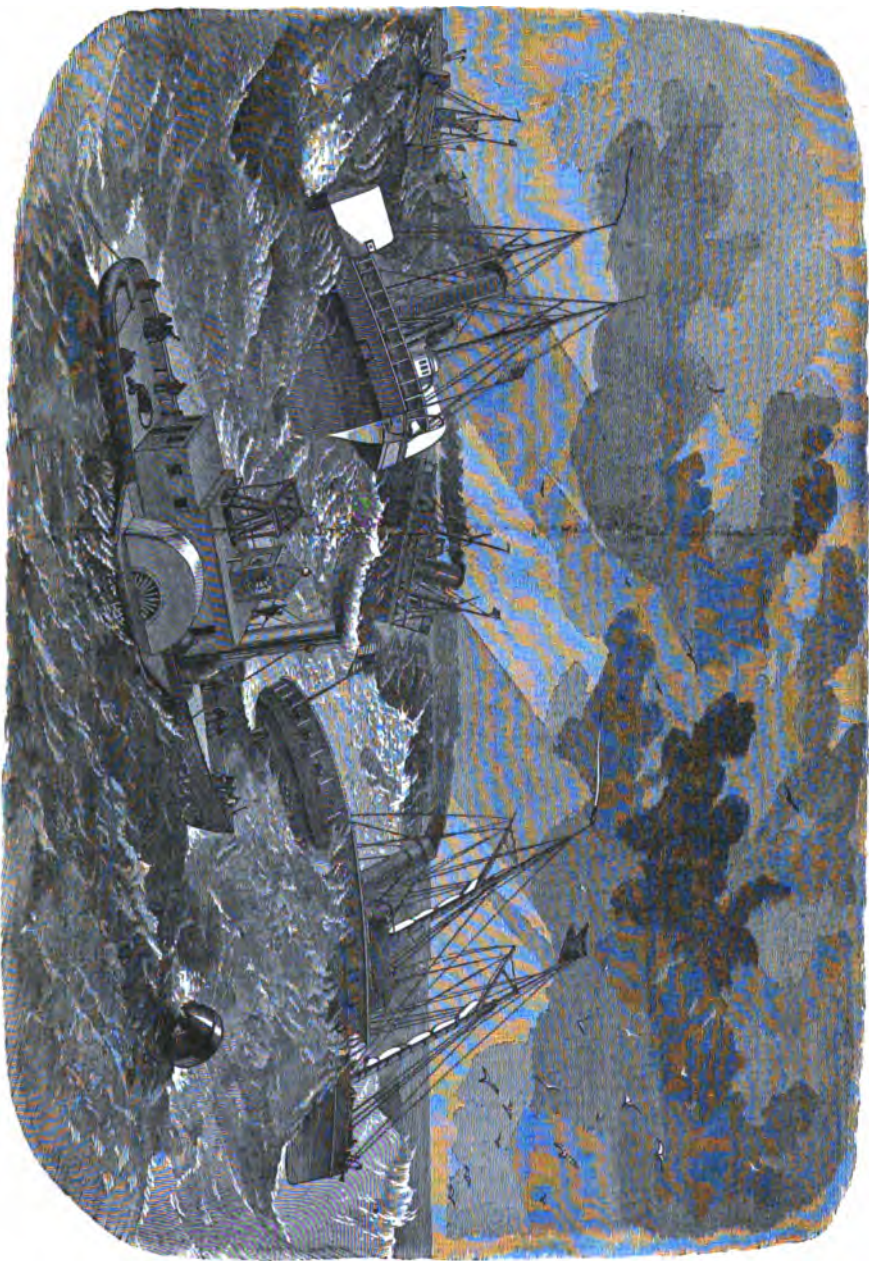
President Lincoln recognized the ability of General Burnside by appointing him a brigadier-general of United States Volunteers, his commission dating Aug. 6, 1861. He immediately reported at Washington, where he was placed in command of a provisional brigade. The three-years regiments, which began to assemble at the national capital, reporting on their arrival to him, were assigned places of encampment, carefully inspected, and supplied with all necessary articles of equipment. Great attention was paid to drill and discipline, and when General McClellan arrived, he found that the organization of the Army of the Potomac had been commenced.

The administration of President Lincoln displayed a remarkable energy in raising money and men, and in organizing armies which were to act in different sections of the country. Several expeditions were projected against Southern sea-ports, and one of them was entrusted to General Burnside. He was ordered to organize a "coast division," on the 23d of October, 1861, and to establish his headquarters at Annapolis. The men for this division were to be recruited in New England, and many of them would be acquainted with boat service. With this force, and some light-draught gun-boats, General Burnside expected to terminate the blockade of the Potomac. He wanted to shell out or storm one Confederate battery after another, until every rebel should have been driven from the river-bank, and the Nation relieved from the shame of seeing its capital besieged by a foe so inferior in numbers. The organization of this force, the charter of vessels, the equipment of men, and the purchase of provisions, ammunition, and supplies was superintended by Colonel Burnside in person, at New York.

General Burnside submitted his original plan of opera-

tion to General McClellan, on the 6th of September. General Scott had then been virtually superseded, and on the 1st of November the old hero was formally relieved of his command, and General McClellan was appointed General-in-Chief of the Army of the United States. He soon afterwards decided to increase the "coast division," and to send it to North Carolina. This required more vessels and more men, but after the coast of North Carolina was occupied, a column was to penetrate to Raleigh and Goldsboro', where it was to be met by General Buell, at the head of the Union army from Tennessee. Meanwhile General Butler was to occupy New Orleans, and Gen. T. W. Sherman, Savannah. These movements would, it was hoped, divide the Confederate army, and so occupy the attention of its generals that the Army of the Potomac would be able to move "On to Richmond!" The programme was a good one, but its execution was unfortunately delayed until the storms of winter made navigation dangerous and land-travel difficult.

General Burnside's troops rendezvoused at Annapolis, Maryland, where they were consolidated into three brigades. The first brigade, commanded by Brig.-Gen. John G. Foster, was composed of the Twenty-third, Twenty-fourth, Twenty-fifth, and Twenty-seventh Massachusetts, and Tenth Connecticut regiments of infantry; — the second brigade, commanded by Brig.-Gen. Jesse L. Reno, was composed of the Sixth New Hampshire, Twenty-first Massachusetts, Fifty-first New York, Ninth New Jersey, and Fifty-first Pennsylvania regiments of infantry; — and the third brigade, commanded by Brig.-Gen. John G. Parke, was composed of the Fourth Rhode Island, Eighth and Eleventh Connecticut, Fifty-third and Eighty-ninth New York regiments of infantry; a battalion of the Fifth



IN THE GALE OFF HATTERAS.

Rhode Island infantry, and Battery F, First Rhode Island light artillery. The regiments were full and the command numbered upwards of twelve thousand men. .

Forty-six transports were employed, eleven of which were steamers. There were also nine armed propellers, to act as gun-boats, and five barges armed as floating batteries, carrying altogether forty-seven guns, mostly of small calibre. These formed the army division of the fleet, and were commanded by Commander Samuel F. Hazard. A navy, composed of twenty vessels of different sizes, but most of light draught, for the navigation of the Albemarle and Pamlico sounds, carried altogether fifty-five heavy guns, and were commanded by Commodore L. M. Goldsborough.

The orders for embarkation were promulgated on Saturday, the 4th of January, 1862, and their reading in each camp was the signal for outbursts of cheering. The next morning the troops commenced embarking, and on the 9th the fleet of transports steamed down Chesapeake Bay and anchored off Fortress Monroe. On the morning of the 11th, General Burnside arrived, on the gun-boat "Picket," a screw steamer, the smallest of the fleet, on which he had established his headquarters. The secret of the destination of the fleet had been well kept, and when it sailed on the morning of the 12th, no one knew it except the general and Commodore Goldsborough. The officer commanding the troops on each ship had sealed orders given him, which were to be opened after getting six miles at sea.

When the fleet left Hampton Roads the weather was fine, but the next day a terrific storm burst upon the armada, as if determined to sweep all on board into the ocean. The steamers staggered on, breasting the giant blows of

each successive sea, their hulls and spars trembling, their decks swept fore and aft, and all on board reeling from side to side like drunken men. One figure stood immovable, grasping the shrouds, scanning the horizon for traces of ships as his steamer rose on each glittering mass of foam. It was the square, manly form of General Burnside, whose anxiety for the fate of his army was intense. With nothing to distinguish him but his yellow belt and blue blouse, slouch hat, and high boots, he stood like a sea-king, hailing every vessel and asking affectionately after the welfare of those on board. It became necessary to find the tortuous channel of Hatteras Inlet when the storm was at its height. A few light draught steamers succeeded in passing safely. Making the inlet, they crossed the bar, came to anchor in the comparatively smooth water of Pamlico Sound, and some of the troops were landed. But many of the steamers, which had been represented as light-draught, could not cross the bar, and were tossed about outside for nearly two weeks. Occasionally a steamer would work her way in, and some of them were much injured.

General Burnside acted the part of admiral as well as general, and managed his great fleet as best he could, performing the duties of navigator, pilot, and harbor-master. Whenever a steamer was in distress, the general was always the first man off to her assistance, and there was not a grade in the army which he did not fill during this trying occasion, so anxious was he for the well-being and comfort of his troops. Generals Foster, Reno, and Parke gave him their ablest assistance, and the conduct of the officers and men was highly commendable. At length, on the 25th of January, the storm finally broke, and the vessels were all inside of the bar. A depot of supplies

was established on shore, and some of the troops were transferred from the steamers in which they had come from Annapolis to others of a lighter draught, while the Sixth New Hampshire Regiment, which had been landed, was re-embarked, with the Ninth New York Regiment, of the Hatteras Island garrison.

General Burnside was ubiquitous, moving about in every direction on the "Picket," and when all was ready he issued the following order, which breathes the broad-hearted humanity that all who had even the slightest intercourse with him found to be a large element in his nature. It also showed the confidence he reposed in his troops, and it was an appeal to the humanity and honor of his men :

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF NORTH CAROLINA, }
PAMLICO SOUND, Feb. 3, 1862. }

General Orders, No. 5.

This expedition, being about to land on the soil of North Carolina, the general commanding desires his soldiers to remember that they are here to support the Constitution and the laws, to put down rebellion, and to protect the persons and property of the loyal and peaceable citizens of the State. In the march of the army, all unnecessary injuries to houses, barns, fences, and other property will be carefully avoided, and in all cases the rules of civilized warfare will be carefully observed.

Wounded soldiers will be treated with every care and attention, and neither they nor prisoners must be insulted or annoyed by word or act.

With the fullest confidence in the valor and the character of his troops, the general commanding looks forward to a speedy and successful termination of the campaign.

By command of Brig-Gen. A. E. BURNSIDE.

LEWIS RICHMOND, *Assistant Adjutant-General.*

On the morning of the 5th, the fleet, consisting in all of sixty-five vessels, moved forward in regular order, each brigade forming three columns, headed by its flagship. The gun-boats of the "coast division" occupied positions on the flanks, to be ready for a response to any demonstra-



ATTACK ON THE CONFEDERATE PORTS BY THE UNION FLEET AT ROANOKE ISLAND.

tion from shore. Each large steamer had one, two, and in some instances three schooners in tow, whose tall spires pointed unvaryingly to the zenith as the water was ruffled by the light wind. The aisles between the three columns of ships were unbroken through the whole length of the fleet, which extended almost two miles over the surface of the sound, except by General Burnside's flag-boat, the "Picket," which was dashing here, there, and everywhere. This great armada, which had so lately been buffeted by the storms of Hatteras, stranded and baffled among those perilous sands, with the hopes of thousands of brave men ebbing and flowing with the dangerous tides, and finding their only consolation in the skill and energy of invincible leaders, was again moving onward with the hearts of officers and men inspired with confidence and renewed hopes.

Arriving in sight of Roanoke Island, the fleet came to anchor for the night, and it was hoped that the landing could take place on the next day. A fog, followed by a storm, prevented it, but on the morning of the 7th the sun shone out brightly and the sky cleared. Commodore Goldsborough, after getting his fleet under way, hoisted this signal: "The country expects every man to do his duty." The gun-boats moved forward, and were soon engaged with the enemy's fleet of steamers, and Forts Forrest and Bartow. The Confederate steamers retreated, as the Union fleet advanced, behind a barricade of sunken vessels and piles. Meanwhile the troops were landed from the transports about four o'clock in the afternoon, in light-draught steamers, each one of which towed several boats filled with men. The scene was animated beyond description. As the boats dashed up towards the shore the men jumped overboard when the keels touched the land, and waded to the beach, a long distance through deep

mud. This was a most tedious, exhausting operation, and the night was well advanced before it was completed. The rain was falling, a cold northern wind was blowing at the time, and the men were compelled to bivouac on the ground without protection of any kind. Those nearest the enemy could not even kindle fires for cooking, as the lights might prove marks for the enemy's sharp-shooters.

General Burnside did all in his power to promote the comfort of the men, afloat and ashore, and they greeted him wherever he went with the utmost enthusiasm. Already every one in the command appreciated his good temper, his cool courage, his knowledge of military matters, and his evident determination that every officer, as well as every enlisted man, should do his duty.





General Burnside's Headquarters, Roanoke Island.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE BATTLE OF ROANOKE ISLAND — FRUITS OF THE VICTORY —
RETURN OF ROBERT — ADVANCE ON NEWBERN — GLORIOUS
VICTORY — CONGRATULATIONS AND THANKS — GOVERNMENT
OF NORTH CAROLINA — REBUKE OF AN ALARMIST.

ROANOKE ISLAND was the scene of active hostilities on the morning of Feb. 8, 1862. General Burnside had received information that the Confederates were entrenched on what they regarded as their stronghold, near the middle of the island, flanked by almost impassable swamps, and only approached by a narrow causeway, defended by a battery of three guns. At day-break, General Foster's brigade moved to attack this position, followed by the brigades of Generals Reno and Parke. While General Foster attacked the battery on the causeway, General Reno led his men through the swamp on one flank and General Parke did the same on the other, often wading in water waist-deep, through a dense, interlaced growth of bushes and briars, which was cut away by the officers' swords. This tedious advance occupied several hours, but it was a complete surprise to the enemy when the Union troops appeared on either flank, from swamps which had been regarded as impassable.

At this juncture Major Kimball, of the New York Ninth Regiment (Hawkins' Zouaves), volunteered to lead the charge with his men, and to carry the entrenchment at the point of the bayonet. "You are the man!" exclaimed General Foster. "The Ninth is the regiment, and this is the moment! Zouaves, storm the battery! Forward!" The regiment started at double-quick time, shouting: "Zou! Zou! Zou!" and being joined by their colonel, leaped into the ditch, mounted the parapet, and drove the enemy away from their guns with the bayonet. Almost simultaneously, the Twenty-first Massachusetts and the Fifty-first New York scaled the parapet on the opposite side, and the two victorious columns met at the flag-staff, on which the "stars and stripes" soon replaced the "stars and bars."

The Confederates, panic-stricken, fled at full speed, strewing the road with their muskets and equipments. General Foster, after having obtained a supply of ammunition, followed the fugitives, and had chased them for several miles, when he was met by a flag of truce borne by Colonel Pool, with a message from Colonel Shaw, of the North Carolina forces, then senior in command, asking what terms of capitulation would be granted. General Foster's answer was: "Unconditional surrender!" Colonel Pool wanted to know how much time would be granted. "No longer than will enable you to report to Colonel Shaw." Colonel Pool retired, and General Foster, having waited what he considered a sufficient time, had ordered the troops to move forward, when Major Stevenson, of the Twenty-fourth Massachusetts, who had gone with Colonel Pool to receive Colonel Shaw's answer, appeared with a message that General Foster's terms were accepted.

Capt. O. J. Wise, of the "Wise Legion" of Virginia, was wounded, and endeavored to make his escape in a boat to Nag's Head, but he was captured, and he died the next morning, defiantly expressing with his latest breath his deep regret that he could not live longer to fight against the Union. Company A, of the "Wise Legion," was the pet volunteer military organization of Richmond, having been chartered in 1793, and some of the most promising young men of that city fought and fell in its ranks. They left behind them in the fort, where the Twenty-first Massachusetts found it, a beautiful white-silk banner, tastefully embroidered, and bearing the motto: "*Aut Vincere aut Mori*," "To Conquer or to Die." The survivors being unable to obey either of its alternatives, had left it with their dead—the few of them all who had accepted the second alternative when the first was not attainable. Another volunteer organization, that had come over from Elizabeth City on the morning of the battle, received no ammunition, and were obliged to surrender without having fired a gun.

The commanders of the three forts speedily followed Colonel Shaw's example, and their strongholds were at once rechristened by General Burnside, Fort Foster, Fort Reno, and Fort Parke. The Confederate fleet, commanded by Captain Lynch, formerly of the United States Navy, endeavored to escape, but nearly all of the steamers were captured.

The capture of two thousand five hundred prisoners was especially acceptable to General Burnside, as it enabled him to secure the exchange of an equal number of Union prisoners taken at Bull Run and elsewhere, who were held at the South. General Burnside also reported to General McClellan that he had captured "five forts,

ATTACK ON THE CONFEDERATE BATTERY AT ROANOKE ISLAND.



mounting thirty-two guns, winter quarters for some four thousand troops, three thousand stand of small arms, large hospital buildings, with a large amount of lumber, wheelbarrows, scows, pile-driver, a mud-dredge, and various other appurtenances for military service." The following congratulatory order was issued by General Burnside :

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF NORTH CAROLINA, }
ROANOKE ISLAND, Feb. 6, 1862. }

General Orders, No. 7.

The general commanding congratulates his troops on their brilliant and successful occupation of Roanoke Island. The courage and steadiness they have shown under fire is what he expected from them, and he accepts it as a token of future victory.

Each regiment on the island will inscribe on its banner: "Roanoke Island, Feb. 8, 1862."

The highest praise is due to Brigadier-Generals Foster, Reno, and Parke, who so energetically carried out the movement that has resulted in the complete success of the Union arms.

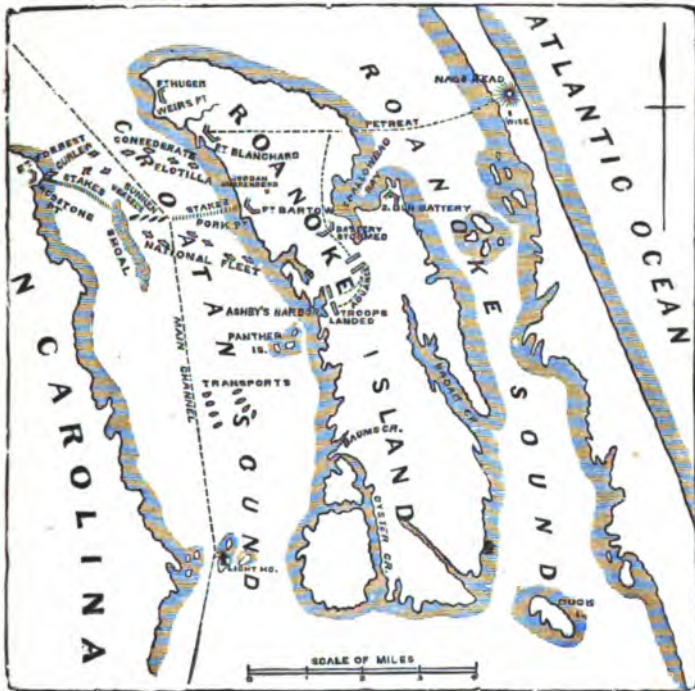
By command of Brig.-Gen. A. E. BURNSIDE.

LEWIS RICHMOND, *Assistant Adjutant-General.*

The battle of Roanoke Island, followed by the occupation of Elizabeth City, Edenton, and Plymouth, caused great rejoicing in the northern states, and revived the drooping spirits of loyal men. Rhode Island voted General Burnside a sword, in addition to her thanks, the legislatures of Massachusetts and of Ohio, then in session, expressed their gratitude by the passage of congratulatory resolutions. President Lincoln nominated General Burnside a major-general of volunteers, and the Senate confirmed the nomination on the 18th of March, 1862.

The first of the Union prisoners exchanged for the Confederates who surrendered at Roanoke Island to reach there, was Robert Holloway, the faithful colored servant of General Burnside. Robert had been with the general

since their ride across the plains in New Mexico, until the battle of Bull Run, when he fell into the hands of the enemy, was carried to Richmond, and imprisoned in a tobacco warehouse. When an exchange was agreed upon,



MAP OF ROANOKE ISLAND.

the general saw that Robert's name was included, and the faithful fellow, instead of going to see his wife and child, when he was liberated, found his way to his old employer.

Newbern was the next place in North Carolina to be occupied, and General Burnside lost no time in organizing an expedition for the occupation of that ancient town.

Detachments were meanwhile sent to places in the vicinity, to destroy munitions of war and to divert the attention of the Confederates. It was the 11th of March before the fleet was ready to sail, and an order from General Burnside was distributed among those on board, assuring them that the movement about to be commenced would "greatly demoralize the enemy, and contribute much to the success of the Army of the Potomac."

An important point for keeping open the communication between the Confederate capital and the South Atlantic States, Newbern had been strongly fortified, heavily armed, and abundantly manned. Yet General Burnside did not hesitate to attack it with an infantry force, without siege guns, or any artillery, in fact, except two rifled twelve-pound navy guns, and six boat howitzers, each drawn and served by twelve sailors.

The transports on which the troops had embarked, escorted by a flotilla of fourteen armed steamboats under the command of Commander Rowan, sailed across Pamlico Sound and up the Neuse River, until they reached Slo-cum's Creek, about fifteen miles below the city of Newbern. On Thursday morning, the 13th, the troops were landed, and marched up the bank of the river, over a road ankle-deep in mud, in a driving rain. Reaching the enemy's line of defenses, the column was halted, and bivouacked. The men, wet through, fatigued, and muddy, crowded around the camp-fires, and passed an uncomfortable night, to be ordered under arms at an early hour the next morning. It was very foggy, and impossible to see the entrenchments and other defenses which obstructed the road leading to Newbern. But General Burnside did not falter or hesitate. He knew the men of his command, and he proposed, with an audacity that was invincible, to "move on the enemy's works" and to capture them.

The order of advance was in three columns, General Foster's brigade forming the right, and General Reno's the left, with General Parke's forming a central column, ready to support either of the others, as circumstances should demand. The engagement commenced at 7.30 in the morning, the artillery and infantry behind the earth-works pouring forth a destructive fire, which was returned from the advancing regiments. Several desperate charges were made by the Union regiments, but were repulsed, when Colonel Rodman, at the head of the Fourth Rhode Island



COMMANDER S. C. ROWAN.

Regiment, managed to effect an entrance into one end of the enemy's works, and fought his way along its entire length, successively capturing nine guns. This unexpected appearance of a Union regiment within their own lines demoralized the rebels, while it assured the Union troops. When General Burnside was told that the Fourth Rhode Island was within the enemy's lines, and saw its flag moving steadily along, he said: "Know that flag. It is just what I expected. Thank God! the day is ours!" Soon after, he entered the captured battery, from which the Confederates had fled in precipitate haste. The remaining obstacles were soon swept away, and the defenders of Newbern were soon fleeing to Goldsboro' by the railroad, burning the bridges after they had passed, to prevent pursuit.

Having occupied the city and made provision for the care of the wounded, both Union and Confederate, General Burnside issued the following orders :

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF NORTH CAROLINA, }
NEWBERN, March 16, 1862.

General Orders, No. 11.

The general commanding congratulates his troops on their gallant and hard-won victory of the 14th. Their courage, their patience, their endurance of fatigue, exposure, and toil, cannot be too highly praised. After a tedious march, dragging their howitzers by hand through swamps and thickets; after a sleepless night passed in a drenching rain, they met the enemy in his chosen position, found him protected by strong earth-works, mounting many and heavy guns, and, although in an open field themselves, they conquered.

With such soldiers advance is victory.

The general commanding directs, with peculiar pride, that, as a well-deserved tribute to valor in this second victory of the expedition, each regiment engaged shall inscribe on its banner the memorable name, "Newbern."

By command of Brig.-Gen. A. E. BURNSIDE.

LEWIS RICHMOND, *Assistant Adjutant-General.*

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF NORTH CAROLINA, }
NEWBERN, March 15, 1862.

Special Order, No. 51.

Brig.-Gen. J. G. Foster, Military Governor of Newbern, will direct that the churches be opened at a suitable hour to-morrow, in order that the chaplains of the different regiments may hold divine services in them. The bells will be rung as usual.

By command of Brig.-Gen. A. E. BURNSIDE.

LEWIS RICHMOND, *Assistant Adjutant-General.*

In his official report to General McClellan, narrating the advance on and the capture of Newbern, General Burnside said : " I beg to say to the general commanding the army, that I have endeavored to carry out the very minute instructions given me by him before leaving Annapolis, and thus far events have been singularly coincident

with his anticipations. I only hope that we may in future be able to carry out in detail the remaining plans of the campaign; the only thing I have to regret is the delay caused by the elements."

This report perfected the claims of General Burnside to public respect and admiration. To proofs of well-contrived strategy, cautious and successful leadership, and consummate gallantry under fire, he added, in this official narrative, evidence of that rare modesty, which not only arrogates no merit belonging to others, but is even anxious to place the fortunate result to the credit of its original projectors.

Secretary Stanton, in a dispatch said: "The report of the late brilliant success of the United States forces under your command at Newbern has afforded the highest satisfaction to the President, to this Department, and to the whole Nation, and thanks for distinguished services are again tendered to you, and the officers and soldiers under your command." General Burnside found himself invested with civil as well as military jurisdiction. It had been asserted that the State of North Carolina had been forced into the Rebellion against the wishes of a large number of its citizens, but officers sent out from Newbern in different directions on reconnoitering expeditions, returned with discouraging reports. The loyal sentiment was not found to exist in any considerable extent. It was very evident that the Rebellion could not be suppressed while slavery existed, and General Burnside found himself much perplexed by the arrival within his lines of large numbers of fugitive slaves, who were received and employed by himself as "contraband of war."

General Burnside continued to send expeditions in different directions, although he had no wagon-trains, ambu-

lances, or cavalry. His scouting parties were mounted on the horses of a Rhode Island battery, and a few impressed country teams furnished his only transportation.

Newbern, under General Burnside's rule, was soon re-peopled by its inhabitants, and the spring Sundays were most delightful, smoothing the "wrinkled front of war." The weather was delightful, neither too warm nor too cool for enjoyment, and the air was fragrant with the odors of peach blossoms and freshly-blown flowers. The music of the bands at the various regimental headquarters, especially those led by Gilmore and by Brown, floated on the quiet air, and lent its charm to the day. In the harbor, gay colors were displayed from the mast-heads of many vessels, and the surface of the water, scarcely ruffled by the wind, was early dotted with boats from steamers and men-of-war, filled with officers on their way to church. The morning parades of the different regiments were accompanied with an elasticity of step and pride of movement which showed how much the soldiers themselves had improved in discipline and drill. The colored people were out in masses in their best clothes, and listened to the music as if they had awakened to a new existence.

General Burnside and staff attended the Episcopal Church, at which the Rev. Mr. Drunem, of the Ninth New Jersey Regiment, officiated. The other churches were all open, and were well attended by the soldiers and citizens.

General Burnside's government of North Carolina, although kind and parental, was firm. One of the surgeons attached to his command having been guilty of raising a false alarm, relative to the approach of the Confederates in a large body on Newbern, was disposed of by the commanding general in the following characteristic order :

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF NORTH CAROLINA, }
NEWBERN, April 4, 1862. }

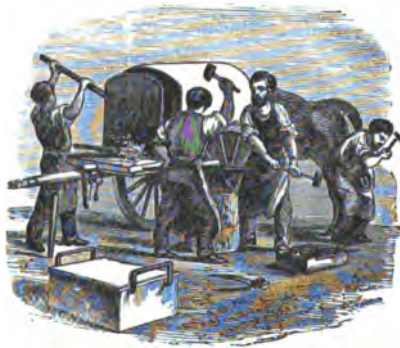
General Orders, No. 24.

Dr. J. H. Thompson, Brigade Surgeon, First Division, is hereby relieved from duty with the First Division, and will report without delay to the Surgeon-General at Washington, with the recommendation to the President of the United States that he be dismissed from the service as an alarmist.

It is expected that all important and reliable information should be duly reported through proper channels, but the stern realities of active warfare rob the soldier of quite sufficient of his rest and sleep without the aggravations of senseless rumors and imaginary dangers, and those who create or report them will be at once expelled from this department.

By command of Brig.-Gen. A. E. BURNSIDE.

LEWIS RICHMOND, *Assistant Adjutant-General.*





General Burnside's Headquarters at Newbern.

CHAPTER XIV.

INVESTMENT AND REDUCTION OF FORT MACON — EFFECTIVE CAN-
NONADING — OCCUPATION OF THE FORT — JEFF DAVIS HUMIL-
IATED — WILMINGTON — ARRIVAL OF GOVERNOR STANLEY —
CLAIMED CONTRABANDS — MEETING WITH MRS. BURNSIDE AT
FORTRESS MONROE — INTERVIEW WITH PRESIDENT LINCOLN —
SWORD PRESENTATION.

THE investment and reduction of Fort Macon next became a military necessity, and it was entrusted to General Parke, an engineer officer of great ability, while General Burnside secured Beaufort and Morehead City. A blockading squadron prevented the receipt of reinforcements or provisions, and soon three siege batteries, armed with thirty-pound guns and large mortars were ready for service. General Burnside would not, however, permit the fire to be opened until he had personally summoned Colonel White, the Confederate commander, to surrender. The two officers met under flags of truce on the beach.

Anxious to repossess the fort without blood-shed, Gen-

eral Burnside offered Colonel White the privilege of surrendering with his men on their parole of honor, and agreed to permit them to return to their homes with their personal effects. Colonel White replied that he could not surrender the fort without resistance, but he promised General Burnside that he would not fire upon Beaufort or Morehead City, and in return General Burnside agreed to forward letters written by the garrison. On Friday morning — a day whose evil augury was signally reversed in this campaign — a ten-pound Parrott gun from one of the Union batteries startled the citizens of Beaufort from their slumbers. Another and another followed in quick succession, and then came an earthquake shock from the ten-inch mortars, which shook the houses and their foundations. The fort returned a sharp and well-sustained fire, the solid thirty-two-pound shot striking short and throwing up clouds of sand, or passing over the batteries and entering the sand-hills beyond.

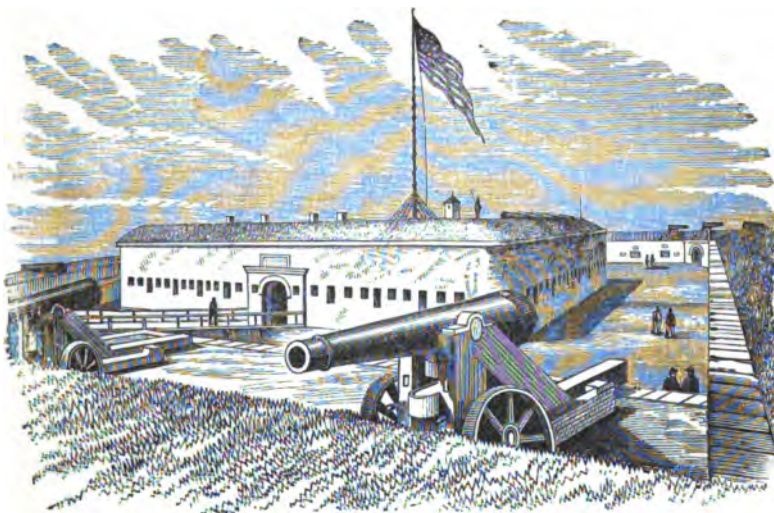
About nine o'clock the United States gun-boats came into position, one after the other, and sent a perfect storm of exploding projectiles into the fort. The rough sea which prevailed outside, however, rendered all attempt at accurate range impossible, and after firing about two hours they hauled off. The Parrott battery kept up a continuous discharge, its shells exploding over the parapets, and its solid bolts plowing up the works in all directions. When one of these shots struck the parapets, the fort, for an instant, would be enveloped in heavy clouds of black mould, which were thrown almost to the top of the flag-staff, while fragments of brick, stone, and lumber from the wooden covering of the ramparts filled the air, hiding the enemy's gunners from view. The spectators upon the houses and wharves of Beaufort watched the progress of the fight with great interest. Women, whose friends were

in the fort, hastened nervously from one house to another, or watched with tearful eyes the awful pageant from their own windows. The smoke of the guns constantly enveloped the fort, and settled like a blue veil upon the surface of the water. As the Union batteries obtained the exact range, and poured a continuous storm of bursting shell into the fort, its guns were gradually deserted, and shortly after four o'clock a white flag was displayed on the parapet.

An armistice was granted, and early the next morning the rebel commander went on board the steamer "Alice Price," where General Burnside had his headquarters, to formally surrender. The general invited Colonel White to breakfast with him, after which the terms of surrender were drawn up and signed. Soon afterwards General Burnside, accompanied by General Parke, proceeded to the fort, followed by the Fifth Rhode Island battalion, which carried an American flag, and the new state colors received that morning from Providence. The rebel stars and bars still floated over the fort, and the garrison, marching out, stacked their arms, after which they returned for their baggage.

General Parke, with four men, entered the fort, and in a few moments the rebel flag was hauled down, and the stars and stripes majestically rose in its place, while the well-known veteran Rhode Island band-master, Capt. Joe Greene, standing on the ramparts, played on his bugle the "Star Spangled Banner," following it with "Yankee Doodle." Soon afterwards the Fourth Rhode Island Regiment, headed by its band, marched in and took possession of the fort, which bore witness to the frightful effects of the iron storm. Deep holes were indented in the brick-work, chimneys were knocked flat, gun-carriages were broken

to pieces, fifteen out of eighteen guns pointing in one direction were disabled, and several were dismantled. General Burnside, after congratulating General Parke and



FORT MACON, N. C.

his officers, returned on board the "Alice Price," and issued the following order :

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF NORTH CAROLINA, }
BEAUFORT HARBOR, April 26, 1862.

General Orders, No. 10.

The general commanding takes peculiar pleasure in thanking General Parke and his brave command for the patient labor, fortitude, and courage displayed in the investment and reduction of Fort Macon.

Every patriotic heart will be filled with gratitude to God for having given to our beloved country such soldiers.

The regiments and artillery companies engaged have earned the right to wear upon their colors and guidons, "Fort Macon, April 26, 1862."

By command of Maj.-Gen. A. E. BURNSIDE.

LEWIS RICHMOND, *Assistant Adjutant-General.*

The successes of General Burnside in North Carolina, which gave him three thousand six hundred prisoners, one hundred and seventy-nine cannon, and a large quantity of ammunition, small arms, and flags, was a subject of keen mortification to the Confederates, and their President, Jefferson Davis, referred to the result of the battle of Roanoke Island as "deeply humiliating." Complaint was made by the Southern people that the coast of North Carolina had been abandoned by the Confederate government for the purpose of a concentration of troops in Virginia, and earnest appeals were made to reinforce the garrison at Wilmington.

The capture of Wilmington was earnestly desired by General Burnside. It was a port frequented by blockade-runners, and it commanded the main line of railroad running from Richmond to the Gulf States. It was not only strongly garrisoned, however, but the approaches to it were capable of being defended with a small force against a large army; neither was there an available Union fleet to coöperate with the land forces.

General McClellan, who was slowly advancing towards Richmond, wrote to General Burnside that no further offensive movement was to be made into the interior of North Carolina until the result of his operations on the lower peninsula should be determined. The irresolution and the delay which began to be apparent in Virginia, reflected on North Carolina, and General Burnside remained confined within the limits of his conquests along the coast.

The arrival of the Hon. Edward Stanley, with a commission as provisional governor of North Carolina, relieved General Burnside of great responsibilities. His great cause of trouble had been the demands for the restoration of the "contrabands," and he used to say to the claimants:

"Well, I suppose you are ready to take the oath of allegiance to the United States." Some would at once declare their unwillingness to take the oath, and then they would ask after their "chattels."

"Ah!" General Burnside would blandly answer, "your negroes are at work out on the fortifications. Go there, and see if you can identify them." Exulting in their success, the slave-owners would hurry away to the fortifications, and when they found their "boys" at work there would sternly order them to go home. But there was no indication of any desire to obey. On the contrary, the colored men would use their hoe-handles somewhat effectively, and their former masters would be unable to seize them.

Governor Stanley, who desired to restore the Union "as it was," promptly revived the old slave code of North Carolina. A school for colored children, which had been opened at Newbern by Mr. Colyer, was closed, as by the old code it was forbidden to teach negroes to read or write, under severe penalties, and no colored person could travel without having a pass.

The canals between North Carolina and Norfolk having been taken by the Union troops, General Burnside passed through them in June, and on the 9th was on the wharf at Fortress Monroe, to meet his wife, who had come by the way of Baltimore to meet him. The steamer on which she came was not moored ere he was on board, and he hastened to the hurricane deck, where he had seen her. But she was not there, and, pushing his way through the crowd of gentlemen who stood with outstretched hands to welcome him, he passed into the cabin, where they met for the first time in many long months. During that period the general had been achieving victories for his country,

and had proved himself one of the bravest champions of the Union. But of all the plaudits which had greeted him, none had sounded so grateful as the loving praise of his wife. They went to Washington that night, and stopped at Willard's Hotel. The general's friends desired to serenade him, but he begged them not to do so.

General Burnside had a long and very interesting interview with President Lincoln and Secretary Stanton. He told them that there was very little loyalty in North Carolina should slavery not be sustained, but he believed that the quicker it could be abolished the better. He would not criticise the conduct of Governor Stanley, but he believed that the governor already doubted the policy of it. From Washington General Burnside went to the peninsula, where he spent several hours with General McClellan, discussing future military operations.

Returning to Newbern, General Burnside was formally presented with the magnificent sword presented to him by the State of Rhode Island. All the Union troops paraded on the afternoon of June 20th, near the city. There was a shower while the lines were being formed, but as General Burnside rode on to the field, a beautiful rainbow spanned the heavens, forming a triumphant arch of gorgeous splendor.

Adjutant-General Mauraan, of Rhode Island, formally presented the sword, concluding his remarks by saying: "Be pleased to accept the sword, and if you may have occasion to draw it from its scabbard, we know full well that it will be in defense of the Union, the Constitution, and the laws; and when, by a kind Providence, you are again permitted to return to the peaceful walks of life, we will all be proud to greet you as one who has proved a good and faithful servant."

General Burnside, receiving the sword, said: "General: In behalf of this gallant little army which surrounds you, I beg through you to thank the State of Rhode Island for the gift, given in appreciation of our services in the battle of Roanoke.

"Your excellent governor has most fittingly said that the services of this army have been in this manner remembered through its commander. Without the skill, courage, patience, and fortitude of the general officers, field and staff



GEN. JOHN G. FOSTER.

officers, company officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates of this *corps d'armee*, together with the full and hearty coöperation of our gallant navy in these waters, the State of Rhode Island would have been deprived the pleasure of giving, and I debarred the proud satisfaction of receiving, this elegant sword.

"On your return to our much-beloved State, say to its gallant governor, its Legislature, and its ever brave and loyal people, that they are represented in my command by as hardy and courageous a band as ever left Narragansett's shores, and should you meet any of the officials or citizens of our sister states that have contributed so much to our strength, say to them that they, too, have given to us soldiers who have, in common with others, been fore-

most in the combat for the suppression of this wicked rebellion.

"I now beg to thank the State of Rhode Island for the kind manner in which she has been pleased to remember me; and to thank you for the kind interest you have manifested in the presentation of this most acceptable gift."

A few days after this presentation General Burnside was summoned to a conference with General McClellan, the result of which was his withdrawal, with the greater portion of his command, from North Carolina, to coöperate more directly with the Army of the Potomac. He retained a nominal authority in North Carolina, however, until the 26th of August, when he issued the following farewell order, and General Foster succeeded to the vacant command:

HEADQUARTERS NINTH ARMY CORPS, }
FREDERICKSBURG, VA., Aug. 26. }

General Orders, No. 15.

The commanding general, on retiring from the Department of North Carolina, desires to express his deep regret at taking leave of the gallant soldiers who have been his comrades through so many trials. The requirements of the service prevented his bidding them farewell in person, when suddenly called to other scenes of duty, and he now desires to pay a high and well-deserved tribute to their discipline, their patience, and their courage. In the trying scenes at Hatteras Inlet, and on the battlefields of North Carolina, these soldiers' virtues were fully shown, and he now parts from them as from well-tried friends, who have always proved true to their leaders and to their country, and on whom, in any emergency, he could always rely.

By command of Major-General BURNSIDE.

LEWIS RICHMOND, *Assistant Adjutant-General.*



CHAPTER XV.

ORDERED TO REINFORCE GENERAL McCLELLAN — OFFERED THE
COMMAND OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC — VISITS NEW YORK
— ORGANIZATION OF THE NINTH ARMY CORPS — GENERAL POPE'S
DISASTERS — EVACUATION OF FREDERICKSBURG BY BURNSIDE —
A NIGHT MARCH — RETREAT OF THE UNION FORCES ON WASH-
INGTON — INSUBORDINATION.

ORDERED, with two divisions of his North Carolina army, to reinforce General McClellan, who had been obliged to retreat from before Richmond, General Burnside embarked with his forces for Virginia. When off Roanoke Island a messenger from Colonel Hawkins boarded his flag-ship with the intelligence that General McClellan had driven the Confederates from Richmond. Upon this information the troops were ordered back to Newbern, as it was expected by General Burnside that he would be ordered to advance on Raleigh. After waiting several days, the true story of

McClellan's reverse was learned, and General Burnside again started to reinforce him.

Meeting President Lincoln on his arrival at Fortress Monroe, General Burnside had a conference with him, and then went to Baltimore, where he again met Mrs. Burnside. They went together to Washington, where, at the conclusion of another long interview with President Lincoln, General Halleck, and Secretary Stanton, the President offered General Burnside the command of the Army of the Potomac, which he promptly and peremptorily declined. The next day he escorted Mrs. Burnside to New York, and while there, visited the Illinois Central Railroad office, where he had some business matters to look after.

General Burnside continued wearing his Rhode Island uniform blouse and slouch hat, so that he was easily recognized. No sooner did he enter the building in which his old office was situated, than an enthusiastic crowd began to gather in front of it, and to call on him for a speech. Finding there was no escape, the general went out on a balcony over the door-way, where he was welcomed by a shout which rang far and wide. Removing his hat, and with his face lighted up by that hopeful smile so peculiar to him, he said :

“My friends: The enthusiastic welcome you have extended to me has quite taken me aback. I expected to come here quietly and to go away without making any excitement; but the kind interest you take in me proves that you will also take some interest in what I have to tell you. It is this: That all is going well, if you will only fill up the old regiments. (Voices — ‘They shall be filled up.’) This is the best advice I have to give you — fill up the old regiments. So many men have so many times predicted the time of the end of the Rebellion, and been

mistaken, that I will not do so now ; but I can say it will be very soon, if the old regiments are filled up. I thank you for the kind reception you have given me, and hope to meet you here again when peace and quiet reign among us."

Returning to his command, which had meanwhile been reorganized as the Ninth Army Corps, General Burnside endeavored to coöperate with General McClellan, who was in a short time virtually deposed, and General Halleck placed in



GEN. GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN.

command. The Ninth Corps was ordered to Fredericksburg, having been reinforced by a division under General Stevens to replace that of General Foster, and made a part of the "Army of Virginia." This army of occupation had been placed under the command of Maj.-Gen. John Pope, who boasted that he was fresh from a campaign in the West, where he had "seen only the backs of rebels." General Burnside was his superior in rank, but, with his customary devotion to his country, he reported to General Pope, and obeyed his orders with cheerfulness and promptitude.

General Halleck soon became involved in an acrimonious correspondence with General McClellan, who was dil-

atory in abandoning the peninsula and hastening to the relief of General Pope, who was hard pressed by the enemy under General Stonewall Jackson. Indeed, nothing but the timely arrival of the Ninth Corps at Fredericksburg saved General Pope's left flank from being turned, and the "Army of Virginia" from being cut off from its communications with Washington.

While General Pope complained — and with some reason — of the want of zeal, and even of subordination, on the part of the generals of the "Army of the Potomac" who had been placed under his orders, he warmly eulogized that portion of the Ninth Corps which had come to his assistance under the command of General Reno. "I cannot express myself too highly," said General Pope in his report, "of the zealous, gallant, and cheerful manner in which General Reno deported himself from the beginning to the end of the operations; — ever prompt, earnest, and soldierly, he was the model of a soldier and a gallant gentleman."

The Ninth Corps mourned the loss of Brig.-Gen. Isaac I. Stevens, who fell at Chantilly while leading a charge and waving aloft the colors of one of his regiments. General Burnside's headquarters had meanwhile been at Fredericksburg, where he had sent forward nearly forty regiments of infantry to the aid of General Pope, in addition to a large force of artillery and cavalry. Some of the new regiments having displayed a marauding spirit, General Burnside issued the following order :

HEADQUARTERS NINTH ARMY CORPS, }
NEAR FREDERICKSBURG, VA., Aug. 12, 1862. }

General Orders, No. 8.

A misapprehension seems to exist as to the spirit of an order from the President of the United States, concerning the subsisting of troops in

the enemy's territory, which will lead to serious license unless promptly checked, and with this object the commanding general calls for a strict observance of the following :

The seizure of private property, under any circumstances, by unauthorized parties is strictly prohibited.

The wastefulness of indiscriminate plunder impoverishes a country, while it adds nothing to the support of the army; policy, as well as humanity to the inhabitants, dictates that all levies should be made according to established rules, and under the charge of discreet and competent officers.

Whenever, in the judgment of the commanding general, it shall become necessary to levy on private property, the proper officers will be appointed, who will carry out the measure according to the usages of civilized warfare, and with the determination on the part of the commanding general, that this command shall not lapse into barbarism. All unauthorized and irregular seizures will be followed by severe and speedy punishment.

By command of Maj.-Gen. A. E. BURNSIDE.

LEWIS RICHMOND, *Assistant Adjutant-General.*

It finally became necessary for the Union forces to evacuate Fredericksburg and retreat to Acquia Creek. Three bridges across the Rappahannock, a machine-shop, the warehouses of the quartermaster and commissary, and a bakery were burned. Just before the troops started, while columns of flame and smoke rose to the sky, General Burnside was observed walking leisurely to and fro, dispatching orders to the different regiments, and watching in calm silence the movements of the various commands. It was, indeed, an hour of deep interest and concern to him; for days he had watched with sleepless vigilance every movement of his own and the enemy's forces, as they affected his own position, and something of weariness could be detected in his usual elastic step.

At this juncture a poor woman with three lovely children clinging to her side passed by, each carrying some little articles of household furniture. The quick eye of the

general immediately recognized her as an excellent Union lady of Fredericksburg, who was escaping with her children and little effects from the town. "Have you anything else down at the bridge, madam?" asked the general. "Only a bed and a few small articles, sir," she timidly answered. "Send down an ambulance, wagon-master, and have them brought up and carried to the depot," was the general's order, and it was obeyed. In a few minutes the poor widow had the pleasure of seeing all her remaining goods safely deposited on the cars for Acquia Creek.

The night-march from the Rappahannock River to Acquia Creek was very difficult, the roads having been so cut up by incessant travel that they were almost impassable in some places. General Burnside kept up with the train, and seemed always in the place where there was the most difficulty. Several times the column came to a halt, by reason of the blocking of the narrow road with stalled wagons, and there it might have remained until broad daylight, for all that the soldiers seemed disposed to do towards righting matters. Lazy troopers sat dozing on their horses, while the march of the whole army was hindered for want of their help, and if Burnside himself had not several times dismounted, waded knee-deep into the mud-holes, and put his own shoulder to the wheels, thus shaming his men into doing something, the rebels might have captured the whole force.

By daylight the whole of the train was safely through the hills and encamped in sight of Acquia Creek Landing, under the protecting fire of four gun-boats anchored in the Potomac. Without waiting for sleep, an hour of which he had scarcely experienced for forty-eight hours, General Burnside rode up to the hill-sides overlooking the place, and selected positions where batteries were

planted to enfilade the approach to the landing. He at once commenced embarking his troops, and when they had left, he destroyed the government buildings at Acquia Creek, and started for Washington.

Meanwhile General McClellan, with a strong force, remained inactive at Alexandria, although he had been ordered by General Halleck to place himself within easy supporting distance of General Pope; and a copy of this order was sent to Pope at the same time by Halleck, in order that he might know what were his



GEN. JOHN POPE.

reliances. Pope, on the strength of this order, requested Franklin and Sumner to come up, and he asked from McClellan rations, and forage for his horses. They had been nearly two days without food, and the road to McClellan was all the way within our lines. The answer of the general who received this appeal, and knew its vital character, was, that if General Pope would send a cavalry escort (the distance being nearly thirty miles) he should have the desired supplies. "When I received this answer," says Pope, in his report, "I gave up all hope, for I could not withdraw any portion of my force from the front, and if I should gain any advantage of the enemy, I had no means, without cavalry, of following it up."

The reinforcements under Sumner and Franklin were likewise withheld till Saturday, and on the final day of strife, Fitz John Porter with his division, and Griffin, with his troops, stood still in presence of the enemy. Even the very soldiers, who had been taught to despise Pope for that opening proclamation which reflected upon the strategy of McClellan, acted badly, fought moodily, and almost threw down their arms.

The administration began to be alarmed, and to fear for the safety of Washington. General McClellan, while refusing to go to the rescue of Pope, telegraphed the President as follows :

"I am clear that one of two courses should be adopted: 1st. To concentrate all our available forces to open communication with Pope. 2d. To leave Pope to get out of his scrape, and at once use all our means to make the capital perfectly safe.

"No middle ground will now answer. Tell me what you wish me to do, and I will do all in my power to accomplish it. I wish to know what my orders and authority are. I ask for nothing, but will obey whatever orders you give. I only ask a prompt decision, that I may at once give the necessary orders. It will not do to delay longer."

To which the President, at 4.10 P. M., responded as follows :

"Yours of to-day just received. I think your first alternative—to wit: 'To concentrate all our available forces to open communication with Pope'—is the right one. But I wish not to control. That I now leave to General Halleck, aided by your counsels.

"A. LINCOLN."

General Pope was defeated and driven back on Centreville, and the "Army of Virginia" was wrecked [beyond repair; while the terrified officials at Washington besought General McClellan to resume the command of which he had been deprived. The general came to Washington,

master of the situation, and walking into the headquarters of General Halleck, said, with an air of injured innocence :

“I understand, General Halleck, you have censured me.”

“I have not censured you,” was General Halleck’s reply.

“Then, sir,” said McClellan, in his usual deliberate style of speech, “I have been greatly misinformed.”

“I did not censure you, General McClellan,” continued the commander-in-chief, “because I did not know what your condition was, or what excuses you might have to offer. I did state, however, most emphatically, both to the President and the Secretary of War, that I had expected you to be within supporting distance of General Pope on Thursday ; but I did not censure you, because I was not then in possession of evidence which I soon expect to obtain.”





CHAPTER XVI.

THE COMMAND OFFERED A SECOND TIME TO BURNSIDE — RESTORATION OF GENERAL McCLELLAN — ADVANCE OF THE CONFEDERATES INTO MARYLAND — PROMPT MOVEMENT BY BURNSIDE — BATTLE OF SOUTH MOUNTAIN — DESPERATE FIGHTING — TRIUMPHANT VICTORY — DEATH OF GENERAL RENO — PREPARATIONS FOR A DECISIVE BATTLE.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN and his advisers were sorely troubled. The Army of the Potomac had returned from the peninsula demoralized and insubordinate, and the army of Virginia had been defeated and driven back upon Washington, which was threatened by the victorious enemy. General Burnside was for the second time invited to take command, and he not only refused, but urged the President to restore General McClellan. This was undoubtedly the wish of a large majority of the surviving officers and soldiers, and of many leading members of Congress and journalists. General McClellan was accordingly placed in command of "all the troops for the defense of the capital," but he soon found that General

Lee, withdrawing his troops from before Washington, was marching into Maryland, where he hoped to be supported by a general uprising of the people.

General McClellan having detailed sufficient garrisons for the occupation of the numerous forts around Washington, organized an army which was at once started to meet the enemy. General Burnside had the advance, in command of the right wing, formed of the First Corps, General Hooker, and the Ninth Corps, General Reno.



GEN. JESSE L. RENO.

General Sumner had the centre, formed of the Second Corps, the Twelfth Corps, General Williams, and General Sykes' division of the Fifth Corps. General Franklin had the left, formed of the Sixth Corps and one division of the Fourth Corps, General Couch.

General Burnside moved from Washington on the 3d of September, with the Ninth Corps, and was joined a few days afterwards by the First Corps. They found some traces of the rebels, as they advanced, but the people of Maryland had not sympathized with them, and gave a warm greeting to the Union forces.

The advance of General Burnside's column reached Frederick City on the afternoon of Sept. 12th, driving before it the pickets of the enemy, which were General Lee's rear guards. The reception given to General Burnside, as

he afterwards entered the town, was an ovation. The people illuminated their houses, the stars and stripes were thrown to the breeze, patriotic songs were sung, and refreshments were urged upon officers and men. General Burnside's passage through the streets was blocked up by citizens, eager to thank and bless him as their deliverer; ladies crowded about and insisted upon kissing his hands, and from the balconies of private residences bouquets rained upon him. General McClellan, who reached Frederick the next morning, was received with a similar enthusiastic demonstration.

The promptness with which General Burnside had moved forward was evidently unexpected by General Lee, who had sent six of his best brigades to capture Harper's Ferry, while General Hill's division of five brigades, with Stuart's cavalry, were to hold Turner's Gap until their return, when he would be in a position to give battle with his old force. The position was well chosen, the old national road leading over a mountain thickly covered with woods. The road ascending the side of the mountain was steep and narrow, and so filled with large stones that quick locomotion was out of the question, and a charge a very difficult thing to undertake. The high, massive stone walls on either side of the road were used as fortifications, over which they could pour volley after volley into an opposing force, while they were comparatively free from danger, or, as soon as they had fired could kneel and load in safety. General Burnside, when he marched over this road in command of the Rhode Island regiments, in the summer of 1861, had noted its capabilities for military defense, and now availed himself of them.

On the morning of Sept. 14th, General Burnside, with the Ninth and First corps, started to meet the enemy.

The Ninth Corps, in admirable fighting trim, and under the command of General Reno, was organized in four divisions, commanded respectively by Generals Cox, Sturgis, Rodman, and Wilcox. General Cox's Kanawha division, which had won laurels in West Virginia, was composed of six regiments of Ohio infantry, with an Ohio battery. Moving onward from Middletown towards South Mountain, which is about three miles distant, the Union army met a determined resistance. The battle was at first an artillery duel between batteries which fired at each other at long range, but it was not long before the infantry came up and the battle became general.

General Cox's division was the first to close with the enemy. The Twenty-third Ohio Regiment, then under the command of Lieut.-Col. Rutherford B. Hayes (afterwards President of the United States), was ordered to make a detour to the left, and after marching a short distance, the two companies thrown out as skirmishers came within thirty yards of two Confederate regiments before discovering them. The Confederates, who were lying down behind a ridge, sprang up, poured a terrific fire into the Twenty-third, and charged upon them. The Twenty-third stood firm to receive them, but the enemy halted before the line of bayonets, and seemed uncertain what to do. The Twenty-third was now ordered to charge the Confederates, and dashing forward with a regimental yell, large numbers of the enemy were bayoneted, while the remainder, unable to stand the rushing charge, fell back in confusion. The left was turned, and sixteen prisoners captured in this, one of the most brilliant charges of the war.

Lieutenant-Colonel Hayes, during the charge, felt a stunning blow, and found that a large musket-ball had struck his left arm above the elbow, badly fracturing the entire

bone. Fearing an artery might be severed, he asked a soldier to bandage the wound, and a few moments after, through exhaustion, he fell. Recovering from a state of unconsciousness while down, in a few moments, and observing that his men had fallen back to the woods for shelter, he sprang to his feet, and with unusual vehemence ordered them to come forward, which they did. He continued fighting some time at the head of his men, but, becoming exhausted, fell a second time, still giving orders to fight it out. A surgeon having dressed his wound, he again made his appearance on the field, and animated his regiment until the rest of the brigade came up. A brilliant bayonet charge up the hill dislodged the Confederates and drove them into the woods beyond.

The fight became general, the Confederates retreating up the mountain slowly, and resolutely contesting every foot of ground. Heavy columns were pushed successively forward by Burnside, driving the Confederates back, until about half the mountain was gained. Between two and three o'clock the Confederates formed in line of battle, and the engagement became general. The musketry fire, as described by officers engaged, was the most continuous and sustained of the war. It rolled rapidly and fiercely from right to left, and back and forward, with irresistible fury. The turnpike was narrow, and the ground on either side covered with woods, which, with fallen timber and massive stone walls, obstructed the advance of the Union troops.

General Burnside ordered General Gibbon to the front, and that brave officer advanced a regiment on each side of the road, preceded by skirmishers and followed by the other two regiments in double column, the artillery moving on the road until within range of the enemy's guns, which

were firing on the column from the gorge. The brigade advanced steadily, driving the Confederates from their position in the woods and behind stone walls. It reached the top of the pass, received a heavy fire, but persistently held its own, and poured in grape and canister, doing fearful execution, and scattering the Confederates like chaff before the wind. As night approached, General McClellan came on the field, and approved the arrangements, dispositions, and orders which General Burnside had made. The enemy finally gave way before a charge



GEN. J. D. COX.

made by the Ninth Corps under General Reno, who was mortally wounded just as the victory was achieved. About nine o'clock the enemy, giving up the contest, retreated down the mountain, leaving his dead unburied, his wounded uncared for, and 1,500 prisoners.

The Union losses were 312 killed, 1,234 wounded, and twenty-two missing. Strange as it may appear, General McClellan did not mention the name of General Burnside in his dispatch to Washington announcing the rout of the rebel army. It was, however, known to all that the battle of South Mountain was fought under the direction of General Burnside, who moved his troops with great promptness, and carried a position which many had regarded as

tenable. The Ninth Corps, which he had organized, bore the brunt of the battle, having 144 men killed, and 546 wounded. The greatest loss was that of General Reno, a dauntless soldier and a gallant gentleman. "I will not attempt, in a public report," said General Burnside in his report of the operations of his command at South Mountain, "to express the deep sorrow which the death of the gallant Reno caused me. A long and intimate acquaintance and extended services in the same field, and an intimate knowledge of his high and noble character, had endeared him to me, as well as to all with whom he had served. No more valuable life than his has been lost during this contest for our country's preservation."

President Lincoln, on receiving the gratifying intelligence of the victory of South Mountain, sent the following message: "God bless you, and all with you. Destroy the rebel army if possible." The Union army bivouacked that night on the battle-field, and in the morning nearly all the men wandered over the ground, pointing out to one another where a brilliant charge was made, or where a comrade fell. On the road, behind the stone wall, the dead were thickly strewn. The death of many was so instantaneous that their arms were in full position of firing their pieces, while others still retained the bitten cartridges in their hands. There was also a great number of Confederate dead lying in the woods on the slope of the mountain. Early in the morning parties were detailed to bury the dead, and the mangled bodies were deposited in their last camping-ground with the most tender care. The wounded of both armies were conveyed to hospitals in the rear, where the surgeons worked hard all night. The ladies of Middletown assembled at the hospitals in large numbers, soothing the sufferers.

General McClellan, having concentrated his entire forces, which amounted to nearly, if not quite, one hundred and fifteen thousand men, reorganized his commands, placing General Burnside in command of the Ninth Corps. He was received by his old command with shouts of the wildest delight, to which he responded in his usually pleasant manner.

General McClellan pushed on after the enemy, telegraphing to General Halleck, "I have just learned from General Hooker in the advance—who states that the information is perfectly reliable—that the enemy is making for the river in a perfect panic, and General Lee last night stated publicly that he must admit they had been shockingly whipped. I must hurry everything forward to endeavor to press their retreat to the utmost." But two days were lost, during which General Lee was enabled to entrench himself across Antietam Creek, in front of the village of Sharpsburg. Frowning earth-works were thrown up on the crest of hills, protecting batteries which would sweep every stretch of open ground over which the Union soldiers might advance. The enemy thus entrenched in a position favorably located for both offensive and defensive operations, had the advantage.

On Tuesday night General McClellan formed his plan of attack. General Hooker was ordered to cross Antietam Creek at the upper ford with his whole corps, attack the enemy's left, and occupy a position on the Confederate flank. Generals Sumner, Franklin, and Mansfield were to coöperate with and sustain his attack. General Burnside was to cross the creek lower down, over a stone bridge, and attack the rebels' right, move on Sharpsburg also, which was in their rear, and thus cut off their retreat. The commands of Generals Porter and Sykes were held in

reserve. General Burnside summoned his division generals to his headquarters, and gave them the orders requisite to carry out that part of the programme assigned to the Ninth Corps. "Did not you hear what I have been saying?" he asked, after he had concluded. "Yes," they all answered. "Then say it over," said the general; and the generals, like school-boys in a class, repeated their lessons.





The Stone Bridge at Antietam.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE BATTLE OF ANTIETAM — GALLANTRY OF THE NINTH CORPS —
DESIRE OF BURNSIDE TO FOLLOW THE FLYING FOE — INAC-
TIVITY OF MCCLELLAN — BURNSIDE PLACED IN COMMAND —
ORDER ON TAKING COMMAND — A DIFFICULT TASK.

THE battle of Antietam, fought on Wednesday, Sept. 17, 1862, made the vicinity of the little village of Sharpsburg, Md., memorable thenceforth in our national history. It is situated on Antietam Creek, which rises in Central Pennsylvania, and after running in a southerly direction, mingles its clear stream with the turbid waters of the Potomac about five miles above Harper's Ferry. The stone bridge across the creek, which General Burnside was ordered to take, is in a deep ravine. The face of the hill on the opposite side of the bridge is too steep to be ascended by a horse, and must be literally

climbed, to be surmounted by man. The roadway from the bridge turns abruptly to the right and left, and rises the hill along its side very gradually. On this steep hill, commanding the bridge, was a Confederate battery, and there were also rifle-pits, stone walls, and earth-works on either bank, filled with the enemy's sharp-shooters. The fight was a desperate one.

Some regiments advanced directly against the bridge, under a terrific fire; others, fording the creek, crossed, and endeavored to drive the enemy's sharp-shooters from their rifle-pits. An angry tempest of shot and shell poured down from the enemy's works, and several times the advancing columns were repulsed with great slaughter. Hooker and Meade were gallantly fighting lower down the creek, and from the spot where General McClellan established his headquarters, four miles of battle could be seen beneath the bright autumnal sun. Again and again did the regiments move forward into what was literally the jaws of death. The bridge was at last handsomely carried, but the Confederates received reinforcements, and General Burnside was forced to send to General McClellan for aid.

Fifteen thousand men, constituting the division of Gen. Fitz John Porter, were massed idly in the valley, and their commander was with General McClellan when Burnside's staff-officer rode up. The message which he delivered was: "I want troops and guns. If you do not send them I cannot hold my position for half an hour." General McClellan's only answer for the moment was a glance at the western sky, and he then looked on General Porter, who shook his head gravely. "Tell General Burnside," said McClellan, speaking very slowly, "that this is the battle of the war; he must hold his ground till dark, at any



THE CHARGE AT ANTIETAM.

cost. I will send him a battery ; I cannot do any more. I have no infantry." Then, as the messenger was riding away he called him back. "Tell him also," said he, "that if he cannot hold his ground, then the bridge, to the last man,—always the bridge ;—if the bridge is lost, all is lost."

The bridge was not lost. Every foot of ground was stubbornly contested, and when the sun went down it was a source of gratification to General Burnside to know that the Ninth Corps, after a hard day's fighting, held the bridge, and thus secured victory by remaining on the ground which the Confederates had occupied. Could the Ninth Corps, isolated from the rest of McClellan's forces, have been cut off and overwhelmed, Lee would have gained the victory. "It is certain," said Mr. Pollard, in his *History of the War*, "that if we had had fresh troops to hurl against Burnside at the bridge of Antietam, the day would have been ours."

The Ninth Corps numbered on the morning of the battle 13,819 officers and men. Its losses during the day were twenty-two officers and 410 enlisted men killed ; ninety-six officers and 1,645 enlisted men wounded, and 120 missing. The commanding generals on both sides could not have been sorry when the sun set, and darkness prohibited any further carnage. General Burnside was actively engaged during the day watching intently every movement of the enemy. Among those who fell was General Rodman, who had been with him since the beginning of the war, and of whom he said : "One of the first to leave his home at his country's call, General Rodman, in his constant and wearing service, now ended by his untimely death, has left a bright record of earnest patriotism, undimmed by one thought of self ; respected and esteemed

in the various relations of his life, the army mourns his loss as a pure-hearted patriot, and a brave, devoted soldier, and his division will miss a gallant leader, who was always foremost at the post of danger."

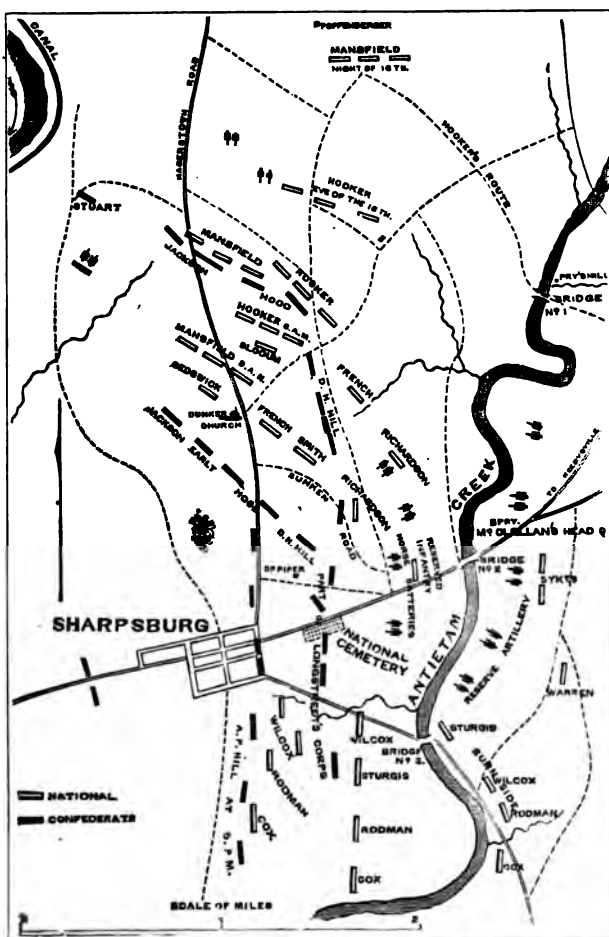
Late in the afternoon, stragglers began to come in from the field, some tenderly escorting wounded comrades, three or four often performing this service for one man. General Burnside ordered many of these stragglers back to their regiments with a sharp reprimand. Among them was a lieutenant of a Connecticut regiment, whom the general reprimanded, ordering one of his aides to take his name. The man went limping away, saying that a ball had hit him in the leg. "But you walked all the way from the field," said the general, "why did you come here to exhibit your cowardice? You had better remained at home." Just then a youth, not over fifteen, who had his arm torn by a shell or ball, came up holding the bleeding member in his other hand. "Look at that boy, Lieutenant," said General Burnside; "he has some excuse for leaving the field, but you have none."

That night General Lee quietly returned into Virginia, leaving his dead and some two thousand of his wounded behind him. General Burnside, visiting General McClellan's headquarters, expressed the opinion that the Union army ought to renew the battle, for the enemy had been worse shaken than they had, and an assault upon his position promised every success. General McClellan had been reinforced during the night in numbers sufficient to cover his losses of the preceding day, but he dared not take the responsibility. "With five thousand fresh troops to pass in advance of my line," said General Burnside, "I will be willing to commence the attack." But the commanding general of the army was in no humor for

more fighting, and on the night of the 19th, General Lee quietly crossed the river into Virginia. "He leaves us," said the correspondent of the New York *Tribune*, "the debris of his late camp. Two disabled pieces of artillery, a few hundred of his stragglers, perhaps two thousand of his wounded, and as many more of his unburied dead. Not a sound field-piece, caisson, ambulance, or wagon; not a tent, box of stores, or a pound of ammunition. He takes with him the supplies gathered in Maryland, and the rich spoils of Harper's Ferry."

For a month General McClellan remained idle, without following up the enemy. The country, which had lavished its resources to furnish a large, well-equipped army, began to look, after the retreat of Lee, for a blow to be struck that would retrieve the national honor. The battle of Antietam having been fought early in the autumn, there was a prospect of a season of two months during which the state of the roads and weather would favor military operations, and it was supposed that General McClellan would have eagerly availed himself of this opportunity to strike a blow.

On the 27th of September, he wrote to General Halleck: "When the river rises so that the enemy cannot cross in force, I purpose concentrating the army somewhere near Harper's Ferry, and then moving." The river rose, but the army did not move, although it was then 150,000 strong. On the 6th of October General McClellan was peremptorily ordered to cross the Potomac and give battle to the enemy, or drive him south;—"your army must move now," he was told, "while the roads are good." But the army did not move, and an acrimonious correspondence was kept up, General McClellan demanding men, horses, clothing, shoes, ammunition and provis-



ions, which were promptly promised but tardily supplied, and Halleck sending orders to advance which were not obeyed with alacrity, if at all.

Early in October the camp of the Union army was enlivened by a visit from the wives of General McClellan, General Burnside, and other officers, which exasperated those who believed that the army should have moved.

On the 13th of October, General Burnside, at the head of two divisions of the Ninth Corps under Generals Burns and Sturgis, with General Stoneman's division, General Whipple's division, and General Pleasanton's cavalry, crossed the Potomac six miles east of Harper's Ferry, and moved along the eastern base of the Blue Ridge, closing up, as he advanced, the passes through which Lee could have moved from the Shenandoah to Manassas. Again did the loyal people of the Union hope for a battle in which the Union army, now fully recruited, well armed, well shod, enthusiastic and confident, could defeat the Confederate forces and put an end to the war.

It was soon evident that General McClellan did not intend aggressive movements, and President Lincoln, who had vainly urged him onward, determined on his removal. The net result of McClellan's stubborn inaction was the loss of several months of pleasant weather with good roads; a sacrifice of an army of 12,000 men and the park of artillery at Harper's Ferry; a second Ball's Bluff disaster at Sheperdstown, and a successful raid by the Confederate cavalry into Pennsylvania. For all this, the Army of the Potomac had reached the mountain-gaps of Virginia in the midst of an unprecedented snow-storm, which brought unpleasant reminiscences of the fate of Napoleon's grand army in Russia.

General Buckingham was sent to the headquarters of the

Army of the Potomac with two envelopes — one assigning to General Burnside the command of the Army of the Potomac, and the other relieving General McClellan. He was instructed by Secretary Stanton to first see General Burnside, and to use, if necessary, the strongest arguments to induce him not to refuse. If he would not accept, General Buckingham was at once to return to Washington; if he consented, he was then to deliver the order to McClellan. The Secretary further explained to General Buckingham, his reasons for sending a general officer on this errand. He had not only no confidence in McClellan's military skill, but he very much doubted his patriotism, and even loyalty, and he expressed to him some fear that McClellan would not give up the command; he wished, therefore, that the order should be presented by an officer of high rank, direct from the War Department, so as to carry the full weight of the President's authority.

General Buckingham found General Burnside about fifteen miles south of Salem, where his division was halted, and he was alone in a little chamber. Closing the door, General Buckingham made known his errand. General Burnside at once, as he had twice done before, declined the offered command. General Buckingham then endeavored, in conformity with the directions of Secretary Stanton, to overcome his objections. Knowing as he did, that the President was resolved, at all events, to remove McClellan, he felt fully satisfied that he (Burnside) ought to accept, and urged him to do so. Burnside, among other objections, urged his want of confidence in himself, and his particularly friendly relations to McClellan, to whom he felt under the strongest obligations. Buckingham met these objections by stating that McClellan's removal was resolved upon at any rate, and that if he (Burnside) did

not accept the command, it would be given to Hooker, who subsequently became his successor.

General Burnside at length consented to obey the order, and General Buckingham requested him to go with him to find General McClellan. They returned to Salem, whence General Buckingham had ridden on horseback through the snow-storm, and went from there about five miles up the railroad to General McClellan's headquarters. Arriving there about eleven o'clock, they found him alone in his tent, examining papers, and as they entered together, he received them in his usual kind and cordial manner.

General Buckingham's task was not only a painful one, but particularly distasteful to him, in view of his friendly feelings for McClellan. The order which he communicated read as follows :

WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE, }
WASHINGTON, NOV. 5, 1862.

General Orders, No. 182.

By direction of the President of the United States, it is ordered that Major-General McClellan be relieved from the command of the Army of the Potomac, and that Major-General Burnside take command of that army. By order of the Secretary of War.

E. D. TOWNSEND, A. A. G.

General McClellan received the announcement of his removal with perfect equanimity, saying that General Burnside, as a soldier, must obey, and that he, as a soldier, must give up his command. He was not heard to utter a word of complaint, nor did he make any allusion to the subject in the presence of his staff, other than to mention the surprise occasioned by the reception of the order. General Burnside did everything in his power to show his respect and esteem for his predecessor. He rode with him through the army on his farewell visit, and when

General McClellan finally left, he said to the officers assembled at the Warrenton Junction, "I wish you to stand by Burnside as you have stood by me, and all will be well."

The following order was issued by General Burnside on taking command of the army:

In accordance with General Orders, No. 182, issued by the President of the United States, I hereby assume command of the Army of the Potomac. Patriotism, and the exertion of my every energy in the direction of this army, aided by the full and hearty coöperation of its officers and men, will, I hope, under the blessing of God, insure its success.

Having been a sharer of the privations, and a witness of the bravery of the old Army of the Potomac in the Maryland campaign, and fully identified with them in their feelings of respect and esteem of General McClellan, entertained through a large, long, and most friendly association with him, I feel that it is not as a stranger I assume command.

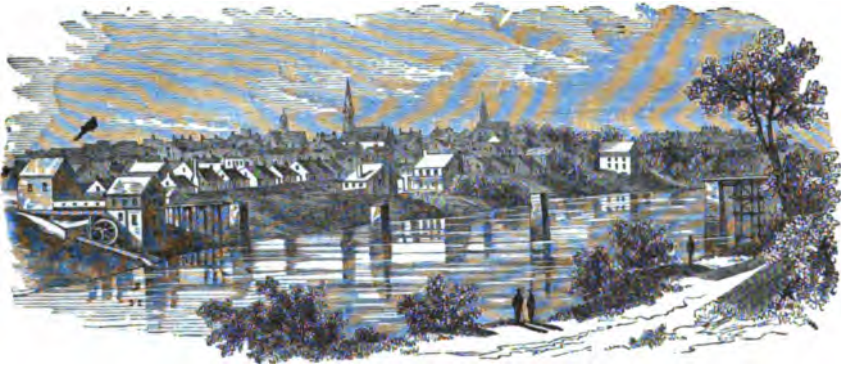
Of the Ninth Corps, so long immediately associated with me, I need say nothing. Our histories are identical.

With diffidence for myself, but with a proud confidence in the unswerving loyalty and determination of the gallant army now entrusted to my care, I accept the command with the steadfast assurance that the just cause must prevail.

A. E. BURNSIDE,

Major-General Commanding.

General Burnside, on thus assuming the command of the Army of the Potomac, found a heavy and difficult task before him. Everything was expected of him by the opponents of McClellan, at least two of whom, holding generals' commissions, had hoped to have succeeded him in command, while the friends of the deposed chief scrutinized his every act with jealousy, if not malignity.



Fredericksburg in 1863.

CHAPTER XVIII.

BURNSIDE ASSUMES COMMAND OF THE ARMY WITH PRAYERFUL RELUCTANCE—NEW PLAN OF OPERATIONS—A RAPID MOVEMENT—FAILURE TO SUPPLY PONTOONS—THE BATTLE OF FREDERICKSBURG—DESPERATE FIGHTING—VIGOROUS DEFENSE BY THE CONFEDERATES—FAILURE.

GENERAL BURNSIDE accepted the command of the Army of the Potomac, then numbering two hundred and twenty-five thousand men, with great reluctance, and a fear that he was not competent for the position. Writing to his much-esteemed friend and chaplain, the Rev. Augustus Woodbury, under date of Nov. 21, 1862, he said: "You who know how much I feel any responsibility placed upon me, can readily imagine how much of my time is occupied with this enormous command. You will remember that when I was with you in the field, with a comparatively small command, I felt that I could do nothing of myself, and I then felt, more than ever in my life, the need of an entire reliance upon an all-wise Creator. But now the responsibility is so great, that at

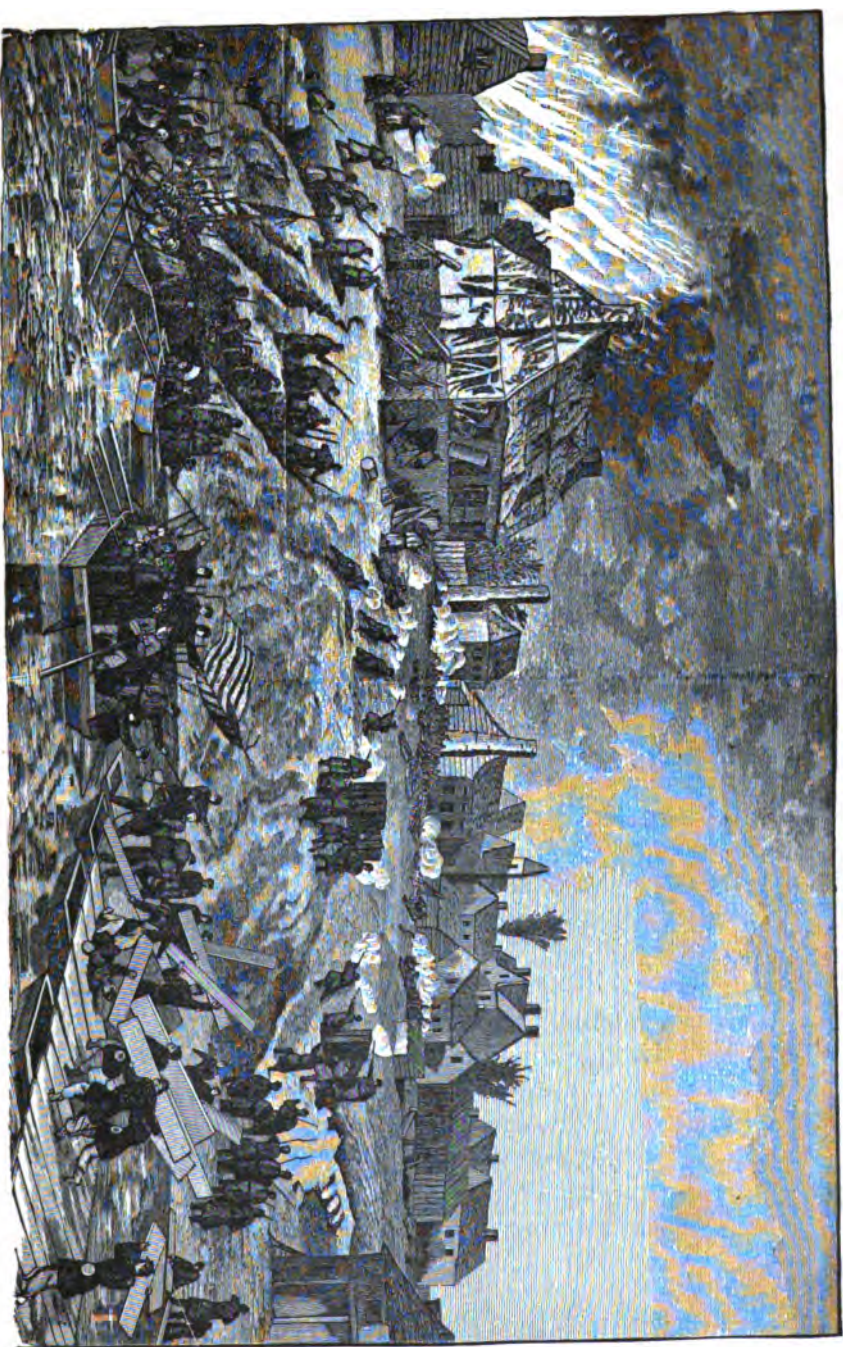
times I tremble at the thought of assuming that I am able to exercise so large a command. Yet when I think that I have made no such assumption, that I have shunned the responsibility, and only accepted it when I was ordered to do it, and when it would have been disloyal and unfriendly to our government not to do it, then I take courage, and I approach our Heavenly Father with freedom and trustfulness, confident that if I can act honestly and industriously, constantly asking His protection and assistance, all will be well, no matter how dark everything now seems to me."

After conferring with some of his leading officers, General Burnside submitted his plans, which were: to make a rapid march to Falmouth, opposite Fredericksburg, to cross the Rappahannock on pontoon bridges to Fredericksburg, and make a forward movement from there to Richmond. On the 14th of November, General Halleck telegraphed him: "The President has just assented to your plan; he thinks that it will succeed if you move rapidly; otherwise not." Meanwhile the Army of the Potomac had been reorganized into three grand divisions, the right commanded by General Sumner, the centre by General Hooker, and the left by General Franklin, while General Sigel commanded a reserve.

The army started from Warrenton on the 15th of November, marched forty miles in three days, and changed its base from the Manassas railroad to Acquia Creek. The Blue Ridge faded in the distance, the valley of the Rappahannock was reached, and on the 19th of November General Burnside watered his horse in the Rappahannock River, before Fredericksburg, which he had evacuated a few months before. If the enemy's pickets, not a stone's-throw from him on the opposite bank, had known who the large man in a slouch hat was, they might have shot at

him, but they probably never imagined that the Union commander would put himself within the range of a smooth-bore musket.

Had General Burnside found the pontoon-train at Fredericksburg, as he had reason to expect, he would have thrown a heavy force across the river before the enemy could have concentrated a force to oppose the crossing. In that case the whole of the right wing, under General Sumner, could have crossed the Rappahannock with its wagon-trains, loaded with bread and commissary stores, and had beef cattle along for meat; then made a rapid movement in the direction of Richmond, meeting the enemy, if possible, and fighting a battle before General Jackson could join General Lee. But rapid as the movements of General Burnside had been from the mountains to the Rappahannock, the march of General Lee was equally expeditious. General Burnside had to halt at Falmouth, and when he awoke on the morning of the 22d of November, and looked across the Rappahannock, he saw the enemy's cannon frowning on his position, and the enemy's bayonets gleaming in the vicinity of the fords across the river. The highway which he had expected to take was barred at its commencement, and he wrote to General Cullum on the 23d of November, stating that the pontoon-train had not arrived, neither had the provision-trains been supplied. "I am not prepared," said he in conclusion, "to say that every effort has not been made to carry out the other parts of the plan, but I must in honesty and candor say that I cannot feel that the move indicated in my plan of operations will be successful after two very important parts of the plan have not been carried out — no matter for what reason. The President said that the movement, in order to be successful, must be made quickly, and I think the same."



THE BATTLE OF FREDERICKSBURG.

Mrs. Burnside went from Washington with President Lincoln and Secretary Stanton to Acquia Creek, on the 26th of November, and returned with them on the 28th, accompanied by the general. During the two days that they were in camp there was a severe rain-storm, which rendered the roads almost impassable. General Burnside made energetic remonstrances to President Lincoln about the delay in the receipt of the pontoon-train, which had just begun to arrive, each boat being drawn on wheels by eight mules. Meanwhile, the Confederates had thrown up batteries commanding the spaces where bridges could be laid across the river, and their earth-works began to be visible on the crest of the ridges around the old town of Fredericksburg. It was very evident that General Lee was concentrating his forces, and preparing for a desperate resistance against any attempt to cross the Rappahannock, or to advance towards Richmond. The Confederate forces had been badly shattered by the unsuccessful invasion of Maryland, and their commander evidently wished to recuperate, protected by the earth-works around Fredericksburg, with a railroad running to Richmond as a base of supplies.

Returning to Washington with the President and Mrs. Burnside, the general discussed the situation with the administration and the leading bureau officers at the War Department. Prudence counseled his going into winter quarters, but the President and all others in authority urged an active, vigorous campaign against Richmond. General Burnside, like a true soldier, determined to carry out the wishes of the President, to advance southward steadily, slowly perhaps, but unflinchingly. His practical, tireless temperament inspired him, when he returned to his command, with a determination to fight his way southward.

He went everywhere through his camps with a bright, quiet, creative energy, "still achieving, still pursuing." New tents, winter clothing, and thick boots were supplied to all the men, and every preparation was made for crossing the river in the face of the enemy.

On the night of the 10th of December, the engineer corps was ordered to lay three pontoon bridges across the Rappahannock, upon which the army was to cross, occupy Fredericksburg, and carry the fortifications on the hills by assault. A dense fog filled the valley and hung over the river. The three lower bridges were laid by eleven o'clock in the morning, and General Franklin reported to General Burnside that he was ready to cross with his command. The three upper bridges could not, however, be laid, owing to the enemy's sharp-shooters, who poured in a merciless fire, and General Woodbury was compelled to report to the commanding general that the bridges could not be built. "They must be built," replied General Burnside, "try again."

The engineers returned to their work, but it was impossible for them to finish it, and when the fog lifted at noon, the fire of the rebel sharp-shooters became more deadly. Going down to the river bank, General Burnside saw the situation, and called for volunteers to cross the river in pontoon boats, drive the riflemen from their entrenchments, and hold the town until the bridges should be laid. Soldiers from the Seventh Michigan and Nineteenth and Twentieth Massachusetts regiments sprang forward with alacrity, and they were rowed across the river by men of the Fiftieth New York. A desperate conflict took place as they landed, but they soon secured the surviving Confederate riflemen as prisoners of war, and the engineers were enabled to finish the bridges. It was four o'clock in the

afternoon, however, before the troops began to cross, and the next day was occupied in moving over the army.

That night, a council of war, attended by the grand division, corps, and division commanders, was held at a late hour at General Sumner's headquarters. General Burnside submitted and explained his plan for the general attack he proposed to make the next day. This plan comprised a simultaneous advance of the Union line upon the enemy's entrenched position on the hills in front of the left and right grand divisions, which were to be carried by sudden assaults of select bodies of troops. It was in keeping with the will, boldness, and frankness of its author, but some doubts of its practicability were expressed in the council by a number of those in attendance. All, however, expressed their readiness to undertake anything ordered by General Burnside, and the necessary instructions were given to commence a general movement upon the enemy with daylight.

It was nine o'clock in the morning of Dec. 13, 1862, before the troops commenced their march, and as they ascended the heights, they soon found themselves exposed to a terrible fire with grape and canister, and an enfilading fire from round shot and shell on their right and left. Below the batteries, too, were stone fences and rifle-pits, behind and in which the Confederates lay concealed until the Union troops, who had been ordered to charge bayonets and not to fire until they reached the entrenchments, had approached within a few feet of them. Rising then, in one long, dense line, with a rebel yell that was heard above their musketry, they poured volley after volley into the leading troops. Regiment after regiment wavered, halted, fell back, and again advanced, only to meet with the same desperate resistance.

General Palfrey, who was in the battle, has truly said that only those who participated in the contest know how much and how little they heard. "They remember how the smoke, and the woods, and the inequalities of ground limited their vision when they had leisure to look about them, and how every faculty was absorbed in their work when they were actively engaged; how the deafening noise made it almost impossible to hear orders; what ghastly sights they saw, as men and horses near them were torn with shell; how peacefully the men sank to rest whom the more merciful rifle-bullet reached in a vital spot; how some wounded men shrieked, and others lay quiet; how awful was the sound of the projectiles when they were near hostile batteries; how incessant was the singing and whistling of the balls from rifles and muskets; how little they commonly knew of what was going on a hundred yards to their right or left. Orderly advances of bodies of men may be easily described and easily imagined, but pictures of real fighting are and must be imperfect. Participants in real fighting know how limited and fragmentary and confused are their recollections of work after it became hot. The larger the force engaged, the more impossible it is to give an accurate presentation of its experiences. We can follow the charge of the six hundred at Balaklava, from which less than one in three came back unharmed, better than we can follow the advance of Hancock's five thousand at Fredericksburg, from which not quite three in five came back unharmed."

General Humphreys thus describes his attempt to lead Tyler's brigade through several demoralized masses of Union troops to the wall which was defended: "As the brigade reached the men who were sheltered behind a slight rise of ground, every effort was made by the latter

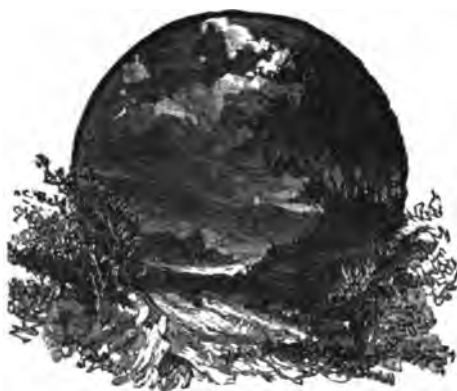
to prevent our advance. They called to our men not to go forward, and some attempted to prevent by force their doing so. The effect upon my command was what I apprehended — the line was somewhat disordered, and in part forced to form into a column, but still advanced rapidly. The fire of the enemy's musketry and artillery, furious as it was before, now became still hotter. The stone wall was a sheet of flame that enveloped the head and flanks of the column. Officers and men were falling rapidly, and the head of the column was at length brought to a stand when close up to the wall. Up to this time not a shot had been fired by the column, but now some firing began. It lasted but a minute, when, in spite of all our efforts, the column turned and began to retire slowly. I attempted to rally the brigade behind the natural embankment so often mentioned, but the united efforts of General Tyler, myself, our staff, and the other officers could not arrest the retiring mass."

At four o'clock in the afternoon General Hooker crossed the river, and a fresh assaulting column was formed, watched earnestly by General Burnside from the Lacey House on the opposite bank of the river. General Getty's brigade, by making a flank movement, succeeded in gaining a stone wall which had been occupied by the Confederate sharpshooters during the day. General Hooker's other brigade started for the entrenchments on the heights with fixed bayonets. The field batteries, which, owing to the restricted space, had been of little use all day, were brought vigorously into play, and from both sides two miles of guns rained forth fiery missiles athwart the dark background of the coming night. Volleys of musketry were poured forth in profusion. Rushing up the heights, General Hooker's troops had approached within a stone's-

throw of the entrenchments, when the hill swarmed forth in new reinforcements of Confederate infantry, who, rushing upon General Hooker's men, drove them back. The turn of a die decides such situations. The day was lost, and the Union troops retired. Immediately cannon and musketry ceased their roar, and in a few moments the silence of death succeeded the stormy fury of the ten hours' battle.

General Burnside, turning, walked off through the garden of the Lacey House and, mounting his horse, galloped back to his headquarters. Summoning his general officers, he promptly formed his plans for the next morning. He ordered General Sumner to take the Ninth Corps and attack the entrenchments on the heights by regiments. There were eighteen old regiments and some new ones, and the commanding general thought that these, by coming quickly up, one after the other, would be able to carry the stone wall and the batteries in front, forcing the enemy into their entrenchments, and by going in with them they would not be able to fire to any great extent.





CHAPTER XIX.

OPPOSITION BY THE GENERALS TO A RENEWAL OF THE ATTACK
— OFFICIAL ACCOUNT OF ITS DISASTERS AND ASSUMPTION OF
THE RESPONSIBILITY — MILITARY CRITICISMS — LINCOLN'S AD-
DRESS TO THE TROOPS — ANOTHER MOVEMENT — INSUBORDI-
NATE GENERALS — LETTER FROM LINCOLN — THE MUD CAM-
PAIGN — GENERAL ORDERS, NO. 8 — RESIGNS.

ON the morning of the 14th of December, 1862, just before the column was to have started, General Sumner came to headquarters and said: "General Burnside, I hope you will desist from this attack: I do not know of any general officer who approves of it, and I think it will prove disastrous to the army." Advice of that kind from General Sumner, who had always been in favor of an advance whenever it was possible, caused General Burnside to hesitate. He kept the column of attack formed, and sent over for the division and corps commanders, with whom he consulted, and they voted against the attack. He then sent for General Franklin, who was on the left, and he was exactly of the same opinion. This

caused General Burnside to decide that he ought not to make the attack he had contemplated. "Besides," to use General Burnside's own words, "inasmuch as the President of the United States had told me not to be in haste in making this attack, that he would give me all the support that he could, but he did not want the Army of the Potomac destroyed, I felt that I could not take the responsibility of ordering the attack, notwithstanding my own belief at the time that the works of the enemy could be carried."

The orders were countermanded, and the next day, under a flag of truce, the dead were buried. At night the army moved back across the Rappahannock. The night was intensely dark, the wind blowing furiously from the east, and the pontoon bridges swinging with every gust. The bridges were taken up after the troops had crossed, and the weary soldiers found rest in their old camps. The following dispatch officially announced the fact to those at Washington:

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, }
December 16, 6 P. M.

Major-General Halleck, Commander-in-Chief:

The Army of the Potomac was withdrawn to this side of the Rappahannock River, because I felt fully convinced that the position in front could not be carried, and it was a military necessity either to attack the enemy or retire. A repulse would have been disastrous to us under existing circumstances.

The army was withdrawn at night, without the knowledge of the enemy, and without loss, either of property or men.

AMBROSE E. BURNSIDE,

Major-General Commanding.

A few days afterwards General Burnside wrote a long letter to General Halleck, which is a model of manliness and true courage. While the popular heart was swelling with indignation over the repulse at Fredericksburg;

while the howl of wrath went up from every quarter against the officials at Washington for not having supplied the pontoon bridges, and while, one after another, his subordinate commanders sought to cast the responsibility on others, General Burnside stood up squarely and firmly, and said, "I am responsible for the movement." Never did his open-hearted, fearless, transparent honesty shine forth more splendidly than in this letter, in which, after narrating the movement, he says :

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, }
FALMOUTH, Dec. 19, 1862. }

Maj.-Gen. H. W. Halleck, General-in-Chief United States Army, Washington :

To the brave officers and soldiers who accomplished the feat of thus recrossing the river in the face of the enemy, I owe everything.

For the failure in the attack, I am responsible, as the extreme gallantry, courage, and endurance shown by them was never exceeded, and would have carried the points had it been possible.

To the families and friends of the dead I can only offer my heartfelt sympathies; but for the wounded, I can offer my earnest prayers for their comfort and final recovery.

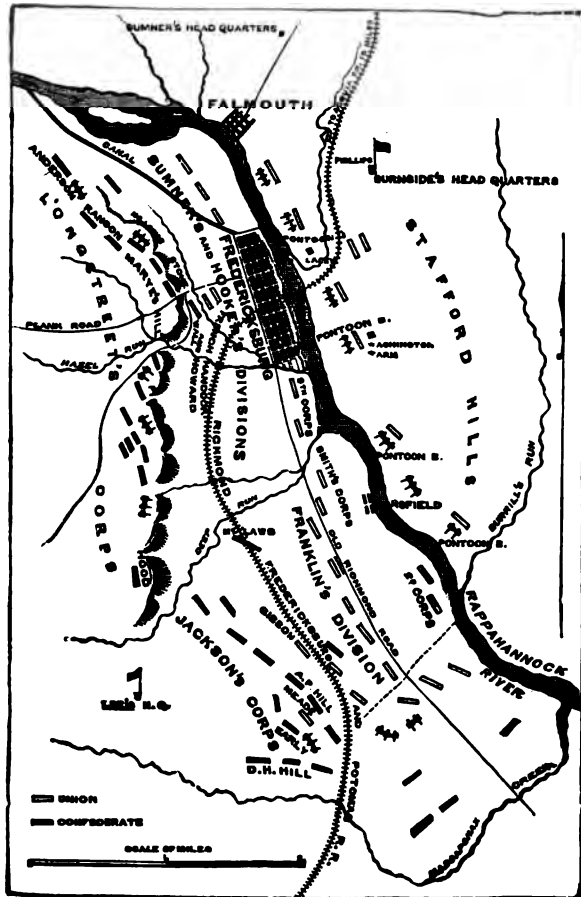
The fact that I decided to move from Warrenton on to this line, rather against the opinion of the President, Secretary of War, and yourself, and that you left the whole movement in my hands, without giving me orders, makes me responsible.

I will visit you very soon, and give you more definite information; and finally, will send you my detailed report, in which a special acknowledgment will be made of the services of the different grand divisions, corps, and my general and personal staff, of the departments of the Army of the Potomac, to whom I am much indebted for their hearty support and coöperation.

I will add here, that the movement was made earlier than you expected, and after the President, Secretary, and yourself requested me not to be in haste, for the reason that we were supplied much sooner by the different staff departments than was anticipated when I last saw you.

Our killed amount to 1,152; our wounded to about nine thousand, and our prisoners to about seven hundred, which last have been paroled and exchanged for about the same number taken by us.

The wounded were all removed to this side of the river, and are being well cared for, and the dead were all buried under a flag of truce.



MAP OF THE BATTLE-FIELD OF FREDERICKSBURG.

The surgeons report a much larger proportion of slight wounds than usual, 1,632 only being treated in hospitals.

I am glad to represent the army at the present time in good condition.

Thanking the government for that entire support and confidence which I have always received from them,

I remain, General, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

A. E. BURNSIDE,

Major-General Commanding Army of the Potomac.

Military critics, however, differed much on the plan of the battle of Fredericksburg. General Burnside had used it before with skill and success at Roanoke Island, and at Newbern, and although he failed at Fredericksburg, that does not prove that the plan itself was defective. Napoleon achieved his greatest success by risking his whole force on a single desperate attack of the centre. McDonauld's charge-column at Wagram started out some eighteen thousand strong, and when it reached the Austrian lines, had only eighteen hundred left, but it broke the enemy's line and gained the victory. Could the Ninth Corps have made a decisive charge, regiment after regiment, the heights of Fredericksburg might have been carried. General Franklin's conduct has been bitterly assailed and stoutly defended, but no one denies that General Meade held the coveted position for two hours, and was then forced to retreat from it, while 50,000 Union troops were standing idle within two miles of him, in his rear.

President Lincoln, after having had a long personal interview with General Burnside, issued the following address to the Army of the Potomac :

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, Dec. 22, 1862.

To the Army of the Potomac :

I have just read your commanding general's preliminary report of the battle of Fredericksburg. Although you were not successful, the attempt

was not an error, nor the failure other than an accident. The courage with which you, in an open field, maintained the contest against an entrenched foe, and the consummate skill and success with which you crossed and recrossed the river in the face of the enemy, show that you possess all the qualities of a great army, which will yet give victory to the cause of the country and of popular government. Condoling with the mourners for the dead, and sympathizing with the severely wounded, I congratulate you that the number is comparatively so small. I tender to you, officers and soldiers, the thanks of the Nation.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

General Burnside had no desire to go into winter quarters, and as the weather was good, made preparations for a demonstration into Virginia, in connection with an extensive cavalry raid under General Averill. The cavalry had started and the army was ready to move, when the following dispatch was received from President Lincoln : " I have good reason for saying that you must not make a general movement without letting me know of it." It was evident that two insubordinate officers had visited Washington, obtained an interview with the President, and convinced him that a movement should not be made. Countermanding the orders to the troops, General Burnside went to Washington, and after a full and frank explanation to the President, returned to his camp on the morning of Jan. 2, 1863, with the intention of carrying out his plan. He learned, however, from scouts, that the enemy had become possessed of his instructions to General Averill, and he ordered the troops back into camp. His third attempt to use the Army of the Potomac against the enemy was thus thwarted, and he wrote a letter to President Lincoln, enclosing his resignation, which he said could be accepted if his course was not in accordance with the views of the administration ; adding, " I beg leave to say that my resignation is not sent in a spirit of insubordi-

nation, but simply to relieve you from any embarrassment in changing commanders where a lack of confidence may have rendered it necessary." In reply, he received a letter from General Halleck approving his plans, and advising that a forward movement be made, and as early as possible. On this, the President made the following indorsement :

January 8, 1863.

I understand General Halleck has sent you a letter, of which this is a copy. I approve this letter. I deplore the want of concurrence with you in opinion by your general officers, but I do not see the remedy. Be cautious, and do not understand that the government or country is driving you. I do not yet see how I could profit by changing the command of the Army of the Potomac, and if I did, I should not wish to do it by accepting the resignation of your commission.

A. LINCOLN.

Fortified by these opinions, and agreeing with General Halleck that both the army and the enemy should be occupied, he again made preparations for a forward movement. Making General Lee believe that he intended to cross the river below Fredericksburg, he moved up the river, intending to cross at the upper fords and turn General Lee's left flank. When everything was prepared, he issued the following order :

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,
CAMP NEAR FALMOUTH, VA., Jan. 20, 1863. }

General Orders, No. 7.

The commanding general announces to the Army of the Potomac that they are about to meet the enemy once more. The late brilliant actions in North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas divided and weakened the enemy on the Rappahannock, and the auspicious moment seems to have arrived to strike a great and mortal blow at the Rebellion, and to gain that decisive victory which is due to the country. Let the gallant soldiers of so many brilliant battle-fields accomplish this achievement, and a fame the most glorious awaits them.

The commanding general calls for a firm and united action of officers

and men, and, under the providence of God, the Army of the Potomac will have taken the great step toward restoring peace to the country, and the government to its rightful authority.

By command of Major-General BURNSIDE.

LEWIS RICHMOND, *Assistant Adjutant-General.*

The army marched on the 20th of January, with pleasant weather and good roads, but at night a furious storm set in, and by daylight the roads were impassable for the artillery and the pontoon bridges. The rain fell in torrents. A chaos of pontoons and artillery incumbered the road down to the river, supply-wagons were stalled in the mud, ammunition trains were mired by the way, and horses and mules dropped down dead by scores. The movement had to be abandoned.

General Burnside next determined to leave his artillery, and to make a bold attack with his infantry. But this was opposed by General Hooker, and several other officers were virtually insubordinate. General Burnside saw that victory would not crown his efforts with this lukewarm support and insubordination among his generals, and he wrote the following order :

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, Jan. 23, 1863.

General Orders, No. 8.

First — Gen. Joseph E. Hooker, Major-General of Volunteers and Brigadier-General of the United States Army, having been guilty of unjust and unnecessary criticisms of the actions of his superior officers and of the authorities; and having, by the general tone of his conversation, endeavored to create distrust in the minds of officers who have associated with him; and having, by omissions and otherwise, made reports and statements which were calculated to create incorrect impressions; and for habitually speaking in disparaging terms of other officers, is hereby dismissed the service of the United States, as a man unfit to hold an important commission during a crisis like the present, when so much

patience, charity, confidence, consideration, and patriotism are due from every soldier in the field.

This order is issued subject to the approval of the President of the United States.

Second — Brig.-Gen. W. T. H. Brooks, commanding First Division, Sixth Army Corps, for complaining of the policy of the government, and for using language tending to demoralize his command, is, subject to the approval of the President of the United States, dismissed from the military service of the United States.

Third — Brig.-Gen. John Newton, commanding Third Division, Sixth Army Corps, and Brig.-Gen. John Cochrane, commanding First Brigade, Third Division, Sixth Army Corps, for going to the President of the United States with criticisms upon the plans of their commanding officers, are, subject to the approval of the President, dismissed from the military service of the United States.

Fourth — It being evident that the following-named officers can be of no further service to this army, they are hereby relieved from duty, and will report in person, without delay, to the Adjutant-General of the United States Army.

Maj.-Gen. W. B. Franklin, commanding Left Grand Division.

Maj.-Gen. W. F. Smith, commanding Sixth Army Corps.

Brig.-Gen. Sam. D. Sturgis, commanding Second Division, Ninth Army Corps.

Brig.-Gen. Edward Ferero, commanding Second Brigade, Second Division, Ninth Army Corps.

Brig.-Gen. John Cochrane, commanding First Brigade, Third Division, Sixth Army Corps.

Lieut.-Col. J. H. Taylor, Acting Adjutant-General Right Grand Division.

By command of Maj.-Gen. A. E. BURNSIDE.

LEWIS RICHMOND, *Assistant Adjutant-General*.

President Lincoln was not willing to permit the dismissal of the disaffected or demoralized generals, whose partisan feelings and prejudices had overshadowed their entire conduct. He accepted the alternative, and relieved General Burnside from the command of the Army of the Potomac, conferring the command on Gen. Joseph E. Hooker. In turning over the command to General Hooker, General Burnside issued the following farewell address :

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, }
CAMP NEAR FALMOUTH, Jan. 26, 1863. }

General Orders, No. 9.

By direction of the President of the United States, the commanding general this day transfers the command of this army to Maj.-Gen. Joseph Hooker.

The short time that he has directed your movements has not been fruitful of victory, nor any considerable advancement of our lines, but it has again demonstrated an amount of courage, patience, and endurance that, under more favorable circumstances, would have accomplished great results.

Continue to exercise these virtues, be true in your devotion to your country and the principles you have sworn to maintain, give to the brave and skillful general who has long been identified with your organization, and who is now to command you, your full and cordial support and co-operation, and you will deserve success.

Your general, in taking an affectionate leave of the army, from which he separates with so much regret, may be pardoned if he bids an especial farewell to his long and tried associates of the Ninth Corps. His prayers are that God may be with you, and grant you continued success until the Rebellion is crushed.

By command of Maj.-Gen. A. E. BURNSIDE.

LEWIS RICHMOND, *Assistant Adjutant-General.*





CHAPTER XX.

RESIGNATION OF HIS COMMISSION NOT ACCEPTED BY PRESIDENT LINCOLN — RETURN TO RHODE ISLAND — PLACED IN COMMAND OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE OHIO — SUPPRESSION OF TREASON — KENTUCKY QUIETED—VISITS TO LIBERTY AND HAMILTON — ARREST AND TRIAL OF VALLANDIGHAM — SUPPRESSION OF NEWSPAPERS — MORGAN'S RAID — THE KENTUCKY CAMPAIGN.

RELIEVED at his own request from the command of the Army of the Potomac, General Burnside went to Washington, where he formally tendered his resignation as a major-general of volunteers to the President, but Mr. Lincoln declined to receive it, quaintly remarking that he had "other fish for him to fry." General Burnside replied that he would willingly accept any command, he cared not what it was, but that he was extremely reluctant to wear a major-general's shoulder-straps, and draw a major-general's pay, while doing nothing to earn his honor or his money. The genuine honesty, sincerity, and unselfish patriotism of the man were everywhere understood, and his journey from Washington to Providence accompanied by Mrs. Burnside, was a continuous ovation, the people assembling in crowds at the stations to do him honor.

It was understood that he desired to avoid any demon-

stration on his arrival at his old home, yet an immense concourse of citizens had assembled at the railroad-station to greet him, and they attested their sympathetic interest by earnest and continuous cheers. The Legislature, which was in session, passed a complimentary resolution inviting him to visit the Senate and the House of Representatives, in their respective chambers. All formalities were there dispensed with, the members thronged around the beloved hero, and the most cordial and heart-felt greetings were universally interchanged. Rhode Island welcomed him back to his old home, and told him to rest assured that time had only strengthened her admiration for him, as one of the noblest and best of her warrior-heroes. After remaining at home four days, he returned to Washington, hoping to have the command of his old Ninth Corps.

Stopping at New York on the way, to attend the marriage of Maj. Ed. M. Neill, a member of his staff, he was also present at the meeting of the United States Christian Commission, where he made a brief, but effective speech, declaring that it was the duty of every man to stand by the administration and the government. "Soldiers," he said, "remember that while it is noble and grand to entertain personal friendship for their commander, it is ignominious to give a blind adherence to any man, or any specific line of policy. They are in the field to give their whole strength and energy in support of their government."

President Lincoln, after several consultations with General Burnside, placed him in command of the Department of the Ohio. The Union cause was not then in a very promising condition in that vicinity. Kentucky, although nominally loyal, was only held in the Union by martial law, and was traversed from time to time by raiding bodies

of rebel cavalry. Sympathizers with secession were boldly endeavoring to corrupt public sentiment in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, and were threatening to liberate the rebel prisoners confined in various localities. It was expected that in the spring an attempt would be made to liberate East Tennessee, and the situation all around required great tact and skill on the part of the department commander. General Burnside, before leaving Washington for Ohio, requested, and was promised, that two divisions of his favorite Ninth Corps should be sent after him without delay.

Arriving at Cincinnati on the 24th of March, 1863, the general issued the following order the next morning :

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE OHIO, }
CINCINNATI, O., March 25, 1863. }

General Orders, No. 27.

In accordance with the instructions from the general-in-chief, the undersigned hereby assumes command of the Department of the Ohio.

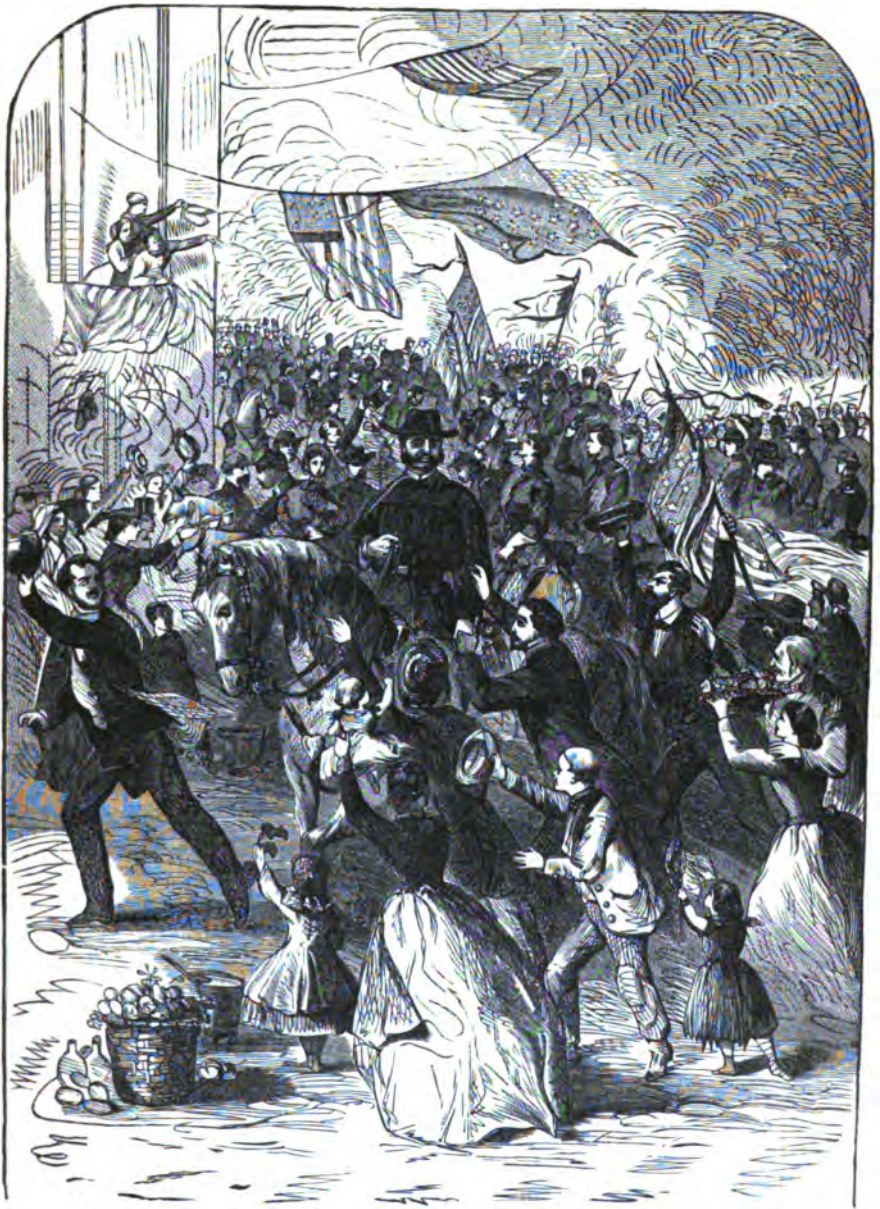
A. E. BURNSIDE,

Major-General Commanding.

LEWIS RICHMOND, *Assistant Adjutant-General.*

Serenaded by a large assemblage of citizens, General Burnside appeared on the balcony of the Burnet House, and was introduced by Major-General Wallace, who said it was an inexpressible pleasure to introduce the general to them. "The great West," said he, "loves all her sons, of whom it is enough to say Ambrose Burnside is the truest and best."

General Burnside was greeted with prolonged cheers, which having subsided, he said he begged to thank those present for the very kind reception they had given him. He considered it all the more complimentary as coming



BURNSIDE'S WELCOME AT KNOXVILLE.

From a Sketch in Harper's Weekly.

from the people of this section, from whom he had been absent many years. It was the more gratifying, too, because it indicated that, in the performance of his duties, they, without looking at results, had confidence in his having endeavored to discharge them faithfully and conscientiously.

He came here (General Burnside said), actuated by the same motives. He came to them in full faith in the success of our cause. He had never, for one single moment, doubted its success. Since he had been in the service, he had had, as they well knew, as many dark hours as any soldier of the same military experience, but in the darkest moment he had not doubted the success of a cause founded on the right, against a rebellion founded upon fraud and deceit. He warned them that ambition was the vice of republics, against which they should fight as much as against deceit and fraud. Ours was a cause in which all should put their hearts.

General Burnside, in conclusion, thanked them again for their attention, and was about retiring, when they called upon him to go on. He replied that he had not the faculty of making long speeches; if he had, he would address them for a half-hour with pleasure. He would rather fight than speak.

Finding that treason had been at a premium and loyalty at a discount on both banks of the Ohio River, and that organizations for sustaining lines of communication to the enemy had been established, General Burnside issued the following order:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE OHIO, }
CINCINNATI, O., April 13, 1863. }

General Orders, No. 38.

The commanding general publishes, for the information of all concerned, that hereafter all persons found within our lines who commit acts

for the benefit of the enemies of our country, will be tried as spies, or traitors, and if convicted, will suffer death. This order includes the following classes of persons :

Carriers of secret mails.

Writers of letters sent by secret mails.

Secret recruiting-officers within the lines.

Persons who have entered into an agreement to pass our lines for the purpose of joining the enemy.

Persons found concealed within our lines belonging to the service of the enemy, and, in fact, all persons found improperly within our lines who could give private information to the enemy.

All persons within our lines who harbor, protect, conceal, feed, clothe, or in any way aid the enemies of our country.

The habit of declaring sympathies for the enemy will no longer be tolerated in this department. Persons committing such offences will be at once arrested, with a view to being tried as above stated, or sent beyond our lines into the lines of their friends.

It must be distinctly understood that treason, expressed or implied, will not be tolerated in this department.

All officers and soldiers are strictly charged with the execution of this order.

By command of Maj.-Gen. A. E. BURNSIDE.

LEWIS RICHMOND, *Assistant Adjutant-General.*

General Burnside then went to Kentucky, where he issued such orders as secured the capture of the rebel General Pegram, and took steps to check the undercurrent of rebellious sentiment which had been flowing unchecked through the State. Returning to Ohio, he made a brief visit to Liberty, Ind., his birth-place, where he said, in a speech to the friends of his boyhood: "I have entered into the service from an honest conviction of duty. For all I am, I owe to my government; and I am ready to give all my services and my life, if necessary, to my country's cause. No patriot will do less because the government happens to be administered by an administration that is not of his choice. I was a supporter of the Buchanan administration, but when war was made upon my government, I felt it no less my duty to give it my support because

it had passed into other hands, than if it had remained in his."

He also made a brief speech at a Union demonstration at Hamilton, Ohio, in which he said: "I do not come here to-day to identify myself by remarks with any political creed or doctrine, but to meet and confer with the friends of the country. I came here to meet the loyal citizens of this neighborhood, many of whom knew me in my boyhood, and as I could not see them all singly, this afforded me an excellent opportunity to make my acknowledgments for the interest they have shown in my welfare. Therefore I may be excused for absence from headquarters for a few hours. It certainly affords me great pleasure to meet my friends who have done me the honor of coming here to meet me, and especially to learn that there are so many earnest hearts interested in the cause of the country. I am blessed with little more authority than you here in suppressing treason, and all those acts which go to create dissension; and I deem it the duty of every man and woman to aid me in this work."

Some of the Democratic members of Congress in the Department of the Ohio, returning to their homes, began making incendiary speeches, in which they encouraged a resistance to the draft; and Mr. Clement L. Vallandigham, addressing an audience at Mt. Vernon, on the 1st of May, after attempting to show that President Lincoln was a tyrant, reminded his hearers that "resistance to tyrants is obedience to God."

When this speech was brought to the attention of General Burnside, he immediately dispatched a company of United States infantry with an order directing its captain to arrest Mr. Vallandigham, at his residence at Dayton. The valiant orator made a feeble resistance, when he was

taken and carried to Cincinnati, where he was placed under guard at the Burnet House, and arraigned, a few days afterwards, before a military commission. Application was made to the United States Circuit Court, Judge Leavitt presiding, for a writ of habeas corpus in behalf of Vallandigham, and General Burnside, having received notice, made a response in opposition to the granting of the writ, which was characterized by his usual common sense.



GEN. JOHN G. PARKE.

After deprecating the violence of orators and presses in assailing the army, and the organization of secret political societies which created dissensions and discord amounting to treason, General Burnside declared that these orators and presses must be careful as to what they said. "They must not use license and plead that they are exercising liberty. In this department it cannot be done. I shall use all the power I have to break down such license, and I am sure I will be sustained in this course by all honest men. At all events, I will have the consciousness, before God, of having done my duty to my country; and when I am swerved from the performance of that duty by any pressure, public or private, or by any prejudice, I will no longer be a man or a patriot."

The court refused to grant the writ of habeas corpus, and the military commission sentenced Vallandigham to close confinement in Fort Warren, Boston Harbor, during the remainder of the war. President Lincoln, however, afterwards commuted the sentence to banishment into the Confederacy, and Mr. Vallandigham was taken to Nashville, where General Rosecrans, under a flag of truce, delivered him into the lines of the Confederates. General Burnside was also called on to send through the lines the mother and the sister of a lady for whom he had, in his younger days, a sincere attachment, they having been detected in attempting to carry letters, quinine, opium, and camphor through the lines.

The arrest and trial of Mr. Vallandigham and the efficient manner in which treasonable correspondence with the South was checked, was severely commented on by papers opposed to the administration, and General Burnside was finally provoked into the issue of the following order :

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE OHIO, }
CINCINNATI, O., June 1, 1863. }

General Orders, No. 84.

I. The tendency of the opinions and articles habitually published in the newspaper known as the *New York World* being to cast reproach upon the government, and to weaken its efforts to suppress the Rebellion, by creating distrust in its war policy, its circulation in time of war is calculated to exert a pernicious and treasonable influence, and is therefore prohibited in this department.

II. Postmasters, news agents, and all others will govern themselves by this order, as any person detected in forwarding, selling, or in any way circulating the paper referred to, will be promptly arrested and held for trial.

III. On account of the repeated expression of disloyal and incendiary sentiments, the publication of the newspaper known as the *Chicago Times* is hereby suppressed.

IV. Brig.-Gen. Jacob Ammen, commanding the District of Illinois, is charged with the execution of the third paragraph of this order.

By command of Major-General BURNSIDE.

LEWIS RICHMOND, *Lieutenant-Colonel and Assistant Adjutant-General.*

Powerful influence was brought upon the President to secure a revocation of the salutary order, and it was finally successful. The opposition press, however, was thenceforth more moderate in its tone, while the sympathizers with secession in Ohio secured Vallandigham's nomination by the Democratic party for governor. The people of that State repudiated him, and he was defeated by a large majority.

Meanwhile General Burnside left Cincinnati on the 30th of May, 1863, for Hickman's Bridge, a point twenty-six miles beyond Lexington, Ky., where he proposed to direct in person his regiments for the deliverance of the loyal people of East Tennessee; but when he reached Lexington he received an order to reinforce General Grant, then moving against Vicksburg, with eight thousand men. It was instantly obeyed, and the Ninth Corps, under General Parke, was dispatched with a promptness for which President Lincoln telegraphed his most cordial thanks. General Burnside wished to accompany his command, but the Secretary of War would not permit, and he returned to Cincinnati, arriving there in time to organize the militia of Ohio and Indiana in opposition to a raid of Confederates commanded by General Morgan, who was captured with the remnant of his party, four hundred in number, and imprisoned in the Ohio penitentiaries.

Having relieved Indiana and Ohio from Morgan's raiders, General Burnside turned his attention to Kentucky, where the sympathizers with secession hoped that with the help of the guerillas they could triumph. A law of Kentucky provided that any man who had been in the rebel service, or who had given voluntary aid or assistance to the rebels, thereby forfeited his rights as a citizen. To prevent their illegal voting, General Burnside issued the following order:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE OHIO, }
CINCINNATI, O., July 31, 1863. }

General Orders, No. 120.

Whereas, the State of Kentucky is invaded by a rebel force with the avowed intention of over-awing the judges of elections, of intimidating the loyal voters, keeping them from the polls and forcing the electing of disloyal candidates at the election on the 3d of August; and, whereas, the military power of the government is the only force that can defeat this attempt, the State of Kentucky is hereby declared under martial law, and all military officers are commanded to aid the constituted authorities of the State in the support of the laws and of the purity of suffrage, as defined in the late proclamation of His Excellency, Governor Robinson.

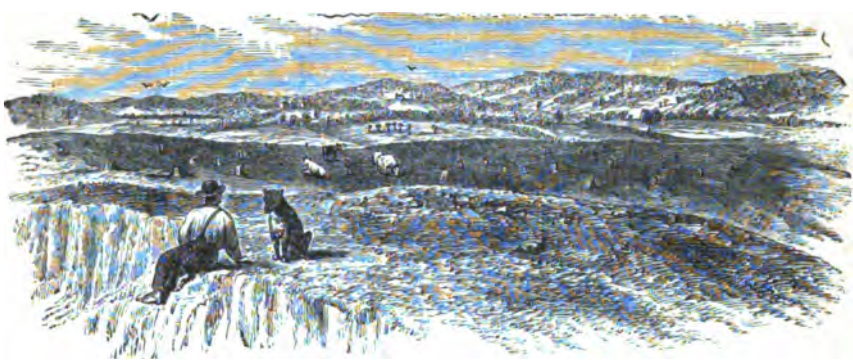
As it is not the intention of the commanding general to interfere with the proper expression of public opinion, all discretion in the conduct of the election will be as usual in the hands of the legally appointed judges at the polls, who will be held strictly responsible that no disloyal person be allowed to vote, and to this end the military power is ordered to give them its utmost support.

The civil authority, civil courts, and business will not be suspended by this order. It is for the purpose only of protecting, if necessary, the rights of loyal citizens, and the freedom of election.

By command of Major-General BURNSIDE.

LEWIS RICHMOND, *Assistant Adjutant-General.*





The Scene of Longstreet's Attack on Fort Saunders.

CHAPTER XXI.

MARCH ACROSS KENTUCKY — PRESERVATION OF ORDER — CROSSING THE CUMBERLAND MOUNTAINS — THE UNION TROOPS RECEIVED WITH ENTHUSIASM — OCCUPATION OF KNOXVILLE — RESIGNATION AGAIN TENDERED AND AGAIN REFUSED — ARRIVAL OF GENERAL LONGSTREET — FIVE BATTLES IN FOUR DAYS — SIEGE OF KNOXVILLE — RETURN TO RHODE ISLAND.

THE staunch old State of Kentucky was of loyal heart. Mr. Bramlette, the Union candidate for governor, was elected, and General Burnside next turned his attention to the deliverance of the long-oppressed citizens of East Tennessee. The Ninth Corps was unavoidably detained by General Grant in Mississippi, having been so often transferred from one department to another, that it was known as "Burnside's Geography Class"; and before it had again reported for duty to him, General Burnside had started on his mountain march. On the sixteenth day of August, 1863, General Rosecrans left Winchester for Chattanooga, and on the same day General Burnside left Lexington for Knoxville. The following order, issued by General Burnside, to be distributed

along the route of his march, showed his solicitude for the inhabitants of the country through which his route lay, and his determination to have daily religious exercises when practicable. He always encouraged divine services in camp, and in his daily trials placed his prayerful trust in the Divine care, relying upon Almighty help to aid him in his difficulties and his duty.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE OHIO, }
CAMP NELSON, Aug. 14, 1863. }

General Orders, No. 2.

I. The general commanding calls upon all members of his command to remember that the present campaign takes them through a friendly territory, and that humanity and the best interests of the service require that the peaceable inhabitants be treated with kindness, and that every protection be given by the soldiers to them and to their property.

II. Officers will enforce the strictest discipline to prevent straggling, any ill-treatment of citizens, depredations, or willful destruction of private property; and each officer will be held strictly responsible for offences of such nature, committed by men under his command.

III. No prisoners will be liberated on parole, but will be conducted under guard to the authorities appointed to receive them.

IV. It must also be distinctly understood, that this war is conducted for national objects, and that any desire which may exist on the part of soldiers to avenge their private wrongs, must yield to a proper observance of the well-established usages of civilized warfare.

V. Prisoners of war, particularly the wounded, will be treated with every consideration consistent with their safe-keeping, and any ill-treatment or insults offered to them will be severely punished.

VI. Whenever regimental evening dress-parades are held, it shall be the duty of the commanding officer to see that the chaplain, or some proper person, in his absence, holds some short religious service, such as the reading of a portion of the Scripture, with appropriate prayer for the protection and assistance of Divine Providence.

By order of Maj.-Gen. A. E. BURNSIDE.

LEWIS RICHMOND, *Assistant Adjutant-General.*

General Burnside's march over the Cumberland Mountains, at the head of eighteen thousand men divided into

five columns, was a brilliant achievement. "It was the first instance," says Col. William Goddard, "during the war, in which a commander had cut loose from a base of supplies, and it suggested to General Burnside the conception of a march to the sea, afterwards so skillfully executed by General Sherman. General Burnside's plan of this march, and his application to undertake the expedition, are on the files of the War Department."



PARSON BROWNLOW.

This march, over the mountains which the Confederates had regarded as an impregnable barrier, was an undertaking which throws the celebrated passage of the Alps into the shade. "In many cases the horses utterly failed to drag the guns up the precipitous sides of the ascents, and then the worn and struggling animals gave place to men, who, with hands and shoulders to wheel and limber, hoisted guns and caissons from height to height. The fearful wayside was strewn with broken wheels and vehicles, and with horses and mules, dying exhausted on the march. Baggage animals, mules, and drivers, in several instances, made missteps and rolled down precipices. Nothing but the indomitable courage and hardihood of Burnside, nothing less lofty than the

heroism that possessed his army, could have ever seen such an undertaking accomplished."

General Burnside was the inspiring spirit of the march, and he kept his men in good heart as they made this forced march of 250 miles in fourteen days. Crossing the summit ridge, they marched down upon the fertile plains of East Tennessee, and offered the protection of the old flag to its oppressed citizens. General Buckner, the Confederate commander, surprised by this unexpected advance of a force which appeared to have been brought over the mountains in balloons, retreated precipitately to join General Bragg at Chickamauga. He did not even wait to send word to his detachment which was guarding Cumberland Gap.

As the Union forces advanced they were received by the long-suffering loyalists, who welcomed their deliverers and entertained them with good-cheer. The stars and stripes, which had been concealed in houses or buried in the ground, were taken from their hiding-places, and soon floated on the breeze from every house. "Bless the Lord, the Yankees have come; the old flag has come back to Tennessee!" were the shouts that gave expression to the people's joy. Gray-haired men, with tears streaming down their cheeks, women who had lost everything, and children whose tender age had not escaped the cruelty of the rebel rule, came forth to meet the general and his officers at every turn, and to express their gratitude for their redemption. It was a scene of grateful joy that baffles all attempt at description.

As General Burnside sought his quarters after his arrival at Knoxville, he had the gratification of resting in the midst of as loyal people as could be found in the Union, who joyously hailed him as their redeemer from a terrible

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despotism. The satisfaction of such a triumph might well repay him for the disappointment and defeat at Fredericksburg. After stopping a few days at Knoxville, he pushed forward, making a forced march of sixty miles in two days, to Cumberland Gap, the unconditional surrender of which he demanded. The Confederate commander, General Frazer, seeing that successful resistance was impossible, surrendered, with 2,500 prisoners, 2,000 stand of small arms, eleven pieces of artillery, and a large quantity of ammunition.



BURNSIDE'S HEADQUARTERS AT KNOXVILLE.

Suffering from a complaint which had troubled him all summer, and anxious to pay some attention to his private affairs, General Burnside tendered his resignation on the 10th of September, 1863, and received from President Lincoln the following reply over the wires: "A thousand thanks for the late success you have given us. We cannot allow you to resign until things shall be a little more settled in East Tennessee." General Halleck also telegraphed his congratulations, and directed General Burnside to hold certain points between his forces and those of General Rosecrans.

While at Cumberland Gap, General Burnside was informed that General Rosecrans was triumphantly advancing, but it soon appeared that this was not the case. General Longstreet had reinforced General Bragg, and the combined armies had forced General Rosecrans back to

the defenses of Chattanooga. General Longstreet then undertook to strike and destroy General Burnside before General Grant could succor him, and then to return to General Bragg before General Grant could reach him. General Longstreet appeared near London, on the Tennessee River, on the night of Nov. 14, 1863, and General Burnside drove his forces back to the river in a storm. He contemplated renewing his attack on the following morning, but the receipt of a dispatch from General Grant, late at night, changed his plans.

"I shall withdraw my command to Knoxville," said General Burnside. "Why so?" said one of his staff, "you can easily beat the enemy, as he is at present situated, and drive him back across the river. If we start we are lost; he will bring his entire force against us, and we shall be defeated and ruined." "That may be true," replied General Burnside, "but it will benefit Grant, if we can draw Longstreet away from his front, more than it will injure us. If General Grant can destroy Bragg, it is of no great consequence what becomes of ourselves. Order the troops to be ready to march in the morning."

The bugle sounded the advance before daylight the next morning, and General Burnside retired to Lenoir, where, on Sunday, the 15th of November, a desperate battle was fought, General Longstreet taking the offensive, and meeting with a damaging repulse. General Burnside, outnumbered, but certainly not out-fought, continued his retreat, but as the pursuit was hot, he fought a third and apparently a severe battle on Monday, November 16, at Campbell Station. Unable to maintain his position, he again retreated, and fought his fourth battle a short distance in the rear of the field upon which the second was fought. On Monday night he again retreated, and on

Tuesday fought a fifth battle, near Knoxville. Five battles in four days, from an army in retreat before a superior force, speak all the praise that could possibly be given to a commander or to his men.



THE OLD "WHIG" OFFICE, KNOXVILLE.

General Longstreet now marched to Knoxville, where he found General Burnside and his garrison ready to receive him. The fortifications which encircled the city were connected by a continuous line of rifle-pits, the roads leading to the city were well picketed, and skirmishers were kept out from five hundred to a thousand yards in front. The men were in good spirits, and supplies had been accumulated which would suffice for four or five weeks' consumption. The siege was commenced on the 17th of November, 1863, and several days were marked by assaults and counter-assaults between the opposing parties. The most desperate contest was early on Sunday morning, Nov. 29, when an assaulting column composed of three picked brigades moved against Fort Saunders.

These men, veterans of Lee's, Jackson's and Longstreet's forces, confident of promised victory, advanced into a rain of lead. Wires had been stretched from stump to stump in front of the works. Over these the advancing Confederates fell in confused heaps, with killed and

wounded all about them, but they pressed onward; they cut away the abatis; they filled the ditch; and a few made their way up to the top of the parapet. There a terrible hand-to-hand conflict ensued. Clubbed muskets, bayonets, sabres, even spades and axes, were employed in the dreadful work, and not a score of the brave storming party escaped. A sortie was made on the rear of the assaulting column, which faltered, stopped, and at last retreated in great confusion. General Longstreet lost, that day, upwards of one thousand men. General Burnside permitted him to remove his wounded and bury his dead, but there was no disposition to renew the attack.

General Grant had meanwhile sent General Sherman to relieve Knoxville, and as he approached, General Longstreet, baffled, disappointed, and defeated, raised the siege. General Burnside issued an order congratulating his troops on the unsurpassed fortitude and patient watchfulness with which they had sustained the wearing duties of the defense and the unyielding courage with which they had repulsed the most dangerous assaults. The next day, having been relieved by General Foster, he issued the following order, in which he took his leave of the Army of the Ohio:

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE OHIO,

KNOXVILLE, TENN., Dec. 16, 1863. }

General Field Orders, No. 38.

In obedience to orders from the War Department, the commanding general this day resigns to Maj.-Gen. John G. Foster the command of the Army of the Ohio.

On severing the tie which has united him to this gallant army, he cannot express his deep personal feeling at parting from men brought near to him by their mutual experiences in the eventful scenes of the past campaign, and who have always, regardless of every privation and of every danger, cheerfully and faithfully performed their duty. Associated with many of their number from the earliest days of the war, he takes leave of this army, not only as soldiers to whose heroism many a

1 Mile.



THE SCENE OF OPERATIONS AT KNOXVILLE, TENN.

victorious battle-field bears witness, but as well-trying friends, who in the darkest hours have never failed him. With the sincerest regret he leaves the department without the opportunity of personally bidding them farewell.

To the citizen-soldiers of East Tennessee, who proved their loyalty in the trenches of Knoxville, he tenders his warmest thanks.

With the highest confidence in the patriotism and skill of the distinguished officer who succeeds him, with whom he has been long and intimately connected in the field, and who will be welcomed as their leader by those who served with him in the memorable campaign in North Carolina; and by all as one identified with some of the most brilliant events of the war, he transfers to him the command, assured that under his guidance the bright record of the Army of the Ohio will never grow dim.

By command of Major-General BURNSIDE.

LEWIS RICHMOND, *Assistant Adjutant-General.*

The loyal residents in the valley of the Ohio parted with General Burnside with great regret, for he had established the supremacy of the Union and the laws. When he assumed command he had found his department infested by persons who, to use the language of the Hon. Horace Binney, "lived on the margin of disobedience to the laws, but against whom no judicial proceedings could be brought, for the want of a tribunal having jurisdiction." To have confronted these traitors in disguise in the ordinary course of justice, would have insured their escape, and have added to the danger, frequently worse than open-armed resistance. Military arrest and an examination before a military commission promptly checked them just as they were passing from treason in purpose to treason in act, and the supremacy of the Union, the Constitution, and the laws was asserted.

Serenaded at Cincinnati before he left for the East, General Burnside made one of his characteristic speeches, in which he modestly attributed the success of his recent operations in East Tennessee to the coöperation of his offi-

cers, and especially to the enlisted men. "Thousands of the men in the ranks," said he, "deserve the credit that is given to the leaders. Many of them — foreigners — have no relatives on this side of the Atlantic who will ever hear of them again, yet they fight for the country they love, being actuated by genuine patriotism. I owe all my success to this patriotism, and I have never been more truly sensible of it than during my last campaign. For one, I shall never forget what is due to the men in the ranks."

Years afterward, when General Burnside had gone to join his fallen comrades in the cold bivouac of the dead, and the representatives of the people were paying their tributes of respect to his memory, Maj. Augustus H. Pettibone, the Representative from the First District of Tennessee, gracefully laid a sprig of mountain laurel on the grave of the deliverer of his section of the Country. Said he :

In the darkest hour of the Civil War it was his good fortune to lead the Union forces across the mountains and to bring back to our people the loved banner which their fathers had followed when Andrew Jackson led the Tennessee soldiers on the plains of Chalmette in the defense of New Orleans. And it is entirely safe to say that among the homes of the Union people of eastern Tennessee, no name is to-day held in dearer remembrance than his. His sojourn among them was marked by a flowing courtesy toward all men which softened the asperities of war, and made all to speak his praise. His urbanity, his leonine courage, his transparent honesty, his unquestioned integrity, his patriotism, which was as broad as the limits of the Union, stamped him a born leader of men. In my last interview with him he sent his good wishes to his old comrades, and expressed his warm regard for those whom he had succored in the dark days of war. While stoutly maintaining the Union cause, he so bore himself that those who had thrown their fortunes into the scale of the Confederacy were compelled to honor the Union general who was tender toward the women and children, the weak and the suffering of every age, class, and condition. Among our mountains hundreds of children have been named for him, for he won the heart-love of our people. But, sir, I speak no more of his renown :

Whatever record leaps to light,
He never shall be shamed.



CHAPTER XXII.

ORDERED TO RECRUIT THE NINTH CORPS — A STORY BY PRESIDENT LINCOLN — BOSTON'S SONG-WELCOME — SPEECH AT CHICAGO ON THE SITUATION — REORGANIZATION OF THE NINTH CORPS — ITS REVIEW BY THE PRESIDENT — BATTLES OF THE WILDERNESS AND COLD HARBOR — CHANGE OF BASE.

ORDERED to recruit and fill up the Ninth Army Corps, and seeking rest, General Burnside returned to his home at Providence, accompanied from Cleveland by Mrs. Burnside. They were cordially received at Albany and at New York on their way, and at a dinner given to the general at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, the following characteristic story of Mr. Lincoln was told: A few weeks previous, when Mr. Lincoln had received telegraphic information that firing was heard in the direction of Knoxville, he simply remarked that he was "glad of it." One of his Cabinet, who knew the perils of Burnside's position, could not see why the President should be "glad of it," and he so expressed himself. "Why, you see," responded Mr. Lincoln, "it reminds me of Mrs.

Sallie Ward, a neighbor of mine in Illinois, who had a very large family. Occasionally one of her numerous progeny would be heard crying in some out of the way place, upon which Mrs. Sallie would exclaim, 'There's one of my children that isn't dead yet.'"

Visiting in turn the capitals of New England, to encourage the recruiting of the Ninth Corps, General Burnside was made the recipient of many flattering testimonials of the public regard. At a public dinner given to him in Boston, the following original song was sung by Samuel B. Noyes, Esq. :



SPOTTSYLVANIA COURT-HOUSE.

" Here's a health to the heart that has weathered the storm !
 To the hero who leaped at the bugle's first blowing,
 And rushed where the war gathered black round his form,
 Full-armed for God's vengeance and Treason's undoing !
 Hail, hail to the chief, from the battle's red gloom,
 With the smell of the strife on his cossack and plume !
 For the welcomes of freemen to valor belong,
 And the deeds of the brave are the glory of song.

" From thy far, well-fought fields, hail, O soldier ! Well done !
 Where thy squadrons still march and thy rifles are pealing,
 Thy foes and the foes of thy country were one ;
 Thy friends are its friends — one in faith as in feeling.
 Three cheers for thy laurels, O guest of the Free !
 From the border, the sea-board, the blue Tennessee ;
 For the welcomes of freemen to valor belong,
 And the deeds of the brave are the glory of song."

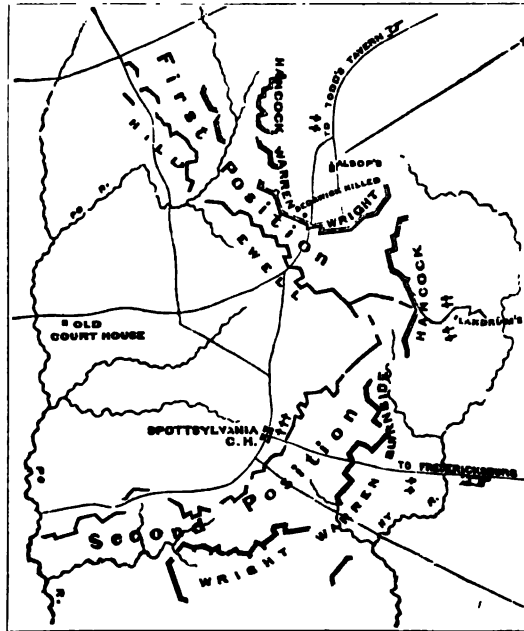
Meanwhile stirring appeals were made to Union men to enlist in the Old Ninth Corps, which was to be recruited to fifty thousand men "for special service." It was understood that this "special service" was an expedition to South Carolina, and as the veteran regiments were recruited, they rendezvoused at Annapolis.

Among other Northern cities visited by General Burnside while he was recruiting the Ninth Corps, was Chicago, where an attempt had been made to denounce him as an "attempted assassin of liberty," because he had suppressed a newspaper published there when he was commander of the Department of the Ohio. A public reception was given him by the Board of Trade, and the hall was literally packed. He was eloquently welcomed by Doctor Daniel Brainard, and then spoke at greater length than he ever had before on the situation.

"In North Carolina and in East Tennessee," said he, "I had the gallant coöperation of officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, to whom a glory is due. I disclaim for myself anything more than what belongs simply to the honest discharge of my duty to my country and my God. I have felt cheerful and sanguine from the beginning, for the simple reason that I have felt that every man should feel sanguine and cheerful when he has done what he conceives to be his duty, regardless of the consequences. I have never felt that there was anything wrong done by me unless I felt that I had neglected to do something I ought to have done, and I never afterwards felt that I had done wrong when I felt satisfied at the time that I had done what was right.

"The presiding officer has referred," said General Burnside, "to an act of mine which affected this community to a considerable extent, and had the appearance at the time

of an attempt to stifle the liberty of speech, and the liberty of the press. I am as much of an advocate for the liberty of speech and of the press as any man on the face of the



MAP OF THE BATTLE FIELD OF SPOTTSVYLVANIA.

globe can be, but when I am sent into a department to command soldiers who are to fight the enemies of my country, and who should be strengthened in all possible ways by giving them encouragement, and by giving them clothes to wear, and food to eat and recruits to fill up their ranks; when I find men in that department opposing all these means of strengthening the soldiers in the army, I will strike these men in precisely the same way that I would strike an enemy in arms against them.

“It is my duty to my country and my duty to my God to strengthen these men, who have daily, for years, endangered their lives in the presence of the enemy. That is all I have to say with reference to this order which I issued and which was rescinded. I am, and I hope to continue to be, only a subordinate to the President of the United States, and he could not possibly do anything that would withdraw from him my entire support in any act he may order for the good of his country, because I believe him to be an honest and a true man. That he has made mistakes there can be no doubt; we have all made mistakes. But to say that he has made a mistake and I have not, would be very silly,—that is, it would be very insubordinate, certainly. I have no disposition to say anything more of the matter. I entirely acquiesce in all he has done, and I feel now, this night, just as I felt the moment I issued that order which was rescinded. It was issued, as I thought, for the good of the soldiers in the field, but I feel now, just as I felt then, that the President is doing all he can to sustain the government of this country, to preserve its liberties and establish peace throughout all its borders, over every inch of its territory.

“It will not be improper to say something to you of the appearance of the contest at the present moment. I have been very much encouraged to know that our cause is right and just, and for that very reason it must succeed. Probably very few of the general officers in the army have seen more dark hours than I have, but I have never for a moment faltered in my faith in the success of our cause because I feel it is just. I have every confidence that God will help us to succeed in this cause, that He will prosper us, and that this country will be preserved and made glorious in the end. But I was going to refer to the present

state of affairs. General Grant is, as you know, at the head of all the armies. It might seem superfluous for me to attempt to give my opinion to the people about the mer-



COLD HARBOR BATTLE-GROUND.

its and success of General Grant, but nevertheless I will do so. I have known him for a great number of years. General Grant possesses qualities which preëminently fit him for the position he now holds. He is distinguished for magnanimity ; he is one of the most magnanimous men I ever knew ; he is entirely unambitious and unselfish ; he is a capital judge of men, and he possesses, in a remarkable degree, the quality of good common sense. These qualities, I think, will make a pretty good general, particularly when he has good generals to deal with, because if

he is magnanimous he will give everybody credit for what they have done, and not seek to rob them of the fame which they have honestly earned. If he is unambitious, he will not seek to undermine innocent persons who may seem to be in the way ; and if he has good common sense and good judgment, he will keep each man below him to that specific duty for which he is best fitted ; so that General Grant, who combines all these qualifications, is very apt to succeed. And General Grant thus far has been successful, and the chances are that he will succeed in the future."

General Burnside left his home at Providence on the 11th of April, 1864, and on his arrival at Annapolis took command of the Ninth Corps, then nearly twenty-five thousand strong. He organized the corps into four divisions, General Stevenson commanding the first, General Potter the second, General Willcox the third, and General Ferrero the fourth, which was composed entirely of colored troops. Every preparation was made for an active campaign, and the troops expected to embark at Annapolis for South Carolina, but when, early on the morning of the 22d, tents were struck, the line of march was taken up to Washington, and not to the wharves. On the night of the 24th, the troops encamped on the Baltimore turnpike, near Bladensburg, and about six miles from Washington.

Early on the morning of the 25th, the head of the column entered the city. President Lincoln, with a few friends, occupied a balcony at Willard's Hotel, where he received a marching salute from the troops. It was a delightful spring day, a shower having laid the dust, and the Ninth Corps appeared to great advantage. On their tattered battle-flags were inscriptions of battles in six states in which they had participated, and the spectators were

alike struck by the firm and soldierly bearing of the veterans, and the eager and expectant countenances of the men composing the new regiments. The colored troops appeared to great advantage, and President Lincoln acknowledged their cheers with great respect and courtesy. Hour after hour the column, with its long wagon-train, moved past, the spectators greeting each successive regiment with enthusiastic cheers. Crossing Long Bridge, the corps went into camp near Alexandria, and it was known that they were thenceforth to again form a portion of the Army of the Potomac, then under the command of General Grant.

Lieutenant-General Grant's plan of campaign was very much like that of General Burnside's when he took command of the Army of the Potomac. He evidently proposed to make a rapid march across the Rapidan at its lowest fords, and across the Rappahannock at the fords above Falmouth, seizing upon the roads leading from Richmond to Fredericksburg, thus turning General Lee's fortified position and threatening his communication with the rebel capital. The line from the lower Rappahannock to Richmond was accepted as the most feasible for accomplishing his object, and he proposed "to fight it out on that line, if it took him all summer." General Burnside's plan was almost identical with this, but he had the disadvantages of an inclement season, an untrained command, and reluctant, if not insubordinate, generals.

On the 3d of May, 1864, General Grant put the Army of the Potomac in motion for Spottsylvania Court House, and General Burnside was ordered to follow him with the Ninth Corps. On the 5th occurred the celebrated battle of the Wilderness, which raged for two days on ground chosen by General Lee, and unfavorable for the use of in-

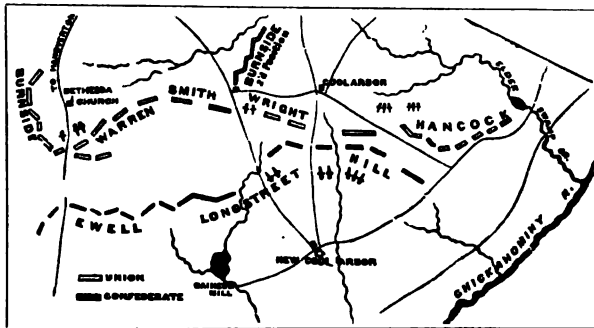
fantry or of cavalry. It was an infantry fight in a dense tract of woodland, in which the Confederate forces were shifted from one side of the field to the other, and hurled in masses, now on one wing and now on the other of the Union army. Early on the morning of the 6th, General Burnside led his corps into the action near the Wilderness tavern, after they had marched all night. Not following the example of Gen. Fitz John Porter when he was ordered to reinforce General Pope, General Burnside hastened to the rescue and insured the victory.

The fight was a desperate one, and General Lee, who had for two days dashed against the Northern troops some of his bravest legions, was forced to withdraw on Saturday, and to leave the field and the victory. General Grant in his report of the operations of the campaign, with characteristic justice declares that, "considering that a large proportion — probably two-thirds — of General Burnside's command was composed of new troops, unaccustomed to marches and carrying the accoutrements of a soldier, this was a remarkable march."

General Grant pushed the Confederates back, step by step, closely supported at every point by the Ninth Corps, which lost heavily. No less than five thousand five hundred of its men were disabled in the battles of the Wilderness and around Spottsylvania Court House.

General Grant next moved towards the North Anna River, and several contests took place, followed by the battle of Cold Harbor, which was fought on the 3d of June, 1864. The contest raged along the entire line — eight miles in length — from daylight until noon. In the course of the morning two divisions of Hancock's corps made a magnificent charge on an earth-work which was the key of the enemy's position, but they were driven out

and back and were forced to retreat within their own lines under a murderous fire. The Ninth Corps bore the brunt of the battle on the right, and were on the point of securing a decided advantage, when General Burnside received orders to cease all offensive operations.



MAP OF THE BATTLE-FIELD OF COLD HARBOR.

At midnight on the 6th, and again on the 7th, the Confederates made a severe attack upon the Ninth Corps, but on each occasion they were bravely and promptly repulsed.

On the night of the 12th of June, 1864, a flank movement was begun, and the celebrated change of base effected, which placed the Army of the Potomac on the south side of the James, in front of Petersburg. No campaign of the war had been so severe on human endurance and courage as this forty days' campaign under Lieutenant-General Grant. The Ninth Corps, which during this time, had lost in killed, wounded, and missing over seven thousand nine hundred men, had done all that had been required of it promptly and gallantly.

Whether General Grant could have placed his army on the south side of the James River without the vast expen-

diture of human life which marked this campaign, is a question which future historians, removed from the personal feelings of the present, will be called upon to decide. If General Lee exhibited great capacity for defense, it was demonstrated during this five weeks' campaign that he had met with more than his match in the tenacity and the persistency with which General Grant pushed on his aggressive operations.

General Lee was greatly aided (as has been well remarked by the Rev. Mr. Woodbury) by the peculiar formation of the portion of Virginia which was the scene of these military operations. There were rivers crossing the lines of march almost at right angles; forests of vast extent, which afforded concealment for the movements of an army on its defense or retreating; marshes which could be used for the protection of positions selected for a stand; hills, each one of which could speedily be made to become a fort; and all these strengthened by all the appliances of engineering skill which had leisurely constructed defensive works in view of just this contingency, or had hastily thrown them up as the emergency demanded. But all his skill, his ability, his resources, the advantages of his chosen positions, the very favorable opportunities which the natural features of the country supplied were of little avail except to postpone defeat for a season. In the end they were compelled to give way before the indomitable will, the resistless and steady advance, the undaunted spirit, the matchless persistence and energy of Lieutenant-General Grant and his army.

The advance was slow, and it has been well said that every mile was marked with brave men's blood, yet the Army of the Potomac moved onward and the Confederate forces retreated. Positions which could not be successfully

carried by assault without a vast expenditure of human life, were turned by skillful flank movements, which were equivalent to battles won. In all these operations the Ninth Corps participated so gallantly as to reflect the highest honor upon all its officers and men, and especially upon its hopeful general and his division commanders. When it was said that the Ninth Corps, during those forty days of marching and fighting, complied with every demand upon human endurance and human courage, performing all that was required of it, and suffering commensurately, the highest praise was awarded both to the living and to the dead.

General Burnside, always ready to waive his rank, permitted the incorporation of the Ninth Corps into the Army of the Potomac, which made him subordinate to General Meade. Well might General Harrison, a Senator of the United States, afterwards say that jealousy, that bane of military life, never found harbor in Burnside's heart.

"There was no room in that well-lighted breast for this black angel. As a subordinate, he never failed to yield a quick and loyal obedience to his superior; nor ever sought to justify his own judgment in the council by a hesitating support of the plan of battle which his superior had chosen. He was a true soldier — one who had not only a master but a cause, into the fellowship of which he received all who made that cause common. He might join in the high rivalry of those who would give most to this sacred cause, or win most honor to the flag; but if he might not be first to plant the flag on the enemy's battlements, he would at least be found among those who hailed with cheers both the flag and the victor."





CHAPTER XXIII.

THE SIEGE OF PETERSBURG — THE MINE BENEATH THE ENEMY'S WORKS — PLAN OF ATTACK — THE COLORED TROOPS COUNTED OUT — THE ASSAULT — DELAY IN THE EXPLOSION — A TERRIBLE SCENE — GENERAL MEADE PETULANT — RETREAT OF THE NINTH CORPS AFTER HARD FIGHTING — RELIEVED FROM DUTY.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, having become convinced that he could not capture Richmond by a flank movement, determined to besiege the enemy, who was securely entrenched before Petersburg and Richmond. His headquarters was established at City Point, with the Army of the James keeping his lines north of the James River, and the Army of the Potomac those on the south bank. Frequent assaults were made, both from the right and left. The lines were gradually extended, and although General Lee made several desperate attempts to release himself, he soon found that to move out of his entrenchments at any point was certain destruction, while to stay and be besieged was equally as certain, though the process was slower and longer.

The Ninth Corps was in front of Petersburg, and from day to day, for six weeks, by the aid of the shovel and the pick, General Burnside's lines were insidiously advanced

by zig-zags and covered ways, until the outline pickets of both armies had scarcely five hundred yards between them. The sharp-shooters on either side were especially vigilant, and skirmishing and artillery fire were almost incessant. It was only necessary for General Burnside to occupy Cemetery Hill, to place his guns in a position where they would command an easy range of the old town of Petersburg. The crest of this hill, frowning with guns, was not more than eight hundred yards distant from the ad-



GEN. U. S. GRANT.

vance works of the Ninth Corps, and its gently sloping sides were weltered with long rows of earth-works, pitted with redoubts and redans, and ridged with serried salients and curtains, and all the works of defense known to the educated military engineers.

The vital importance to the Union Army of Cemetery Hill was evident to all, and many schemes were advanced by which it might be made useless for the enemy's purpose, or made to change hands altogether; but to take it by direct assault must necessarily cost many lives, and the attempt might not be a success. It was then that Lieut.-Col. Henry Pleasants of the Forty-eighth Pennsylvania Volunteers, which was in General Potter's division of the Ninth

Corps, conceived the idea of mining the enemy's redoubt in front of Cemetery Hill, and blowing its contents into the air. The Forty-eighth Pennsylvania had been recruited in the coal regions of that State. Colonel Pleasants was a practical miner, and so were nearly all of its officers and men. They had talked over the practicability of this work, and they were anxious to undertake it. When the project was laid before General Burnside, he consulted the engineer on his staff, Maj. J. C. Duane, who ridiculed the whole plan as impracticable, and even impossible of execution. General Burnside was of a different opinion, and, laying the project before General Meade, who was at that time his commanding officer, he received authority to go on with the work.

Colonel Pleasants and his men commenced work on the 25th of June, under great disadvantages. No officer of rank, except Generals Burnside and Potter, gave them any encouragement. The miners were obliged to carry out the earth in bread-boxes, and to cut down bushes and strew over the excavated material to prevent the suspicions of the enemy. They were not even allowed the use of a theodolite at General Meade's headquarters, for their measurements, and they were obliged to send to Washington for an instrument. The roof of the mine was propped up by old lumber, picked up about the camp, and the ventilation improvised for the occasion was imperfect. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, eighteen thousand cubic feet of earth was removed, and on the 23d of July, a subterranean gallery five hundred and ten feet long, with two lateral galleries, one thirty-seven feet long and the other thirty-eight feet, with eight magazines, had been constructed. Four magazines were placed in each lateral gallery made beneath the enemy's earth-work. It

was supposed at one time that the Confederates suspected the existence of the mine, but after listening intently, it was ascertained that the troops who occupied the redoubt were engaged in the ordinary drill and fatigue duty, little imagining what was going on immediately under their feet.

Lieutenant-General Grant had meanwhile been anxious to make an assault upon the Confederate works, and had requested the views of General Meade upon the chances of success. General Meade, in turn, had asked the advice of his corps commanders. General Burnside, on the 3d of July, replied that he thought it best to wait until the mine was completed, unless it was the question of changing the plan of operations, in which case he was in favor of an immediate assault; then he added, "If an assault be made now, I think we have a fair chance of success, provided my corps can make the attack, and it is left for me to say when and how the other two corps shall come to my support." General Meade took offense at this remark, as a reflection, on the part of General Burnside, upon his skill as the commanding general of the Army of the Potomac. In his reply, dated on the 4th of July, General Meade declared that in all offensive operations he should "exercise the prerogative of" his "position, to control and direct the same," and intimated that the "acceding" on his part to General Burnside's conditions "would not be consistent with" his "position of commanding general of the army." General Burnside immediately sent his disclaimer of any wish to assume the prerogative which did not belong to him, and which had only existed in the suspicious imagination of General Meade. The correspondence closed, but it was never forgotten by the commander of the Army of the Potomac, and it was the first step in the

combination of unfortunate circumstances which changed the anticipated victory into a gloomy and deplorable defeat.

One division of the Ninth Corps, commanded by General Ferrero, was composed entirely of colored men—a large proportion of them emancipated slaves. Not having participated in the previous campaign, they were comparatively fresh, and they desired to take a conspicuous part in the coming conflict. It was the wish of General Burnside to make them his assaulting column at the explosion of the mine, and they were drilled on a similarly situated piece of ground in the rear of the Union lines, for the particular service which was expected of them.

The mine was at last finished. Eight thousand pounds of powder were placed in the eight magazines, and three fuses were laid. General Burnside's original plan had provided for six fuses and two electric wires, to insure the explosion of the mine beyond question without delay, but no wires at all were furnished, and the fuse was in pieces, with no material for splicing the ends together but some old blankets. It seemed to ordinary observers as though General Meade had determined that the enterprise should fail, and that the adverse opinion which had been given at the outset should thus have its justification. Colonel Pleasants persevered, however, and at last reported the mine ready for explosion. Then General Meade appeared to have received a new inspiration, for he acknowledged that he "had every reason to believe that the explosion of the mine and the subsequent assault on the crest would be successful, and would be followed by results which would have consisted in the capture of the whole of the enemy's artillery and the greater part of his infantry."

On the 26th of July, General Burnside submitted to General Meade a carefully prepared plan of attack. He

proposed to explode the mine just before daylight in the morning, or about five o'clock in the afternoon. Then he would send in General Ferrero's division of colored troops in two columns to attack; the leading regiments of each to deploy into line, as soon as they had passed through the breach made by the explosion. Each column to then wheel outward and sweep the enemy's line right and left, thus attacking the Confederates on each flank. Meanwhile the other three divisions of white troops in the Ninth Corps would follow, and complete the work by occupying Cemetery Hill and compelling the enemy to evacuate his line of works.



GEN. GEORGE G. MEADE.

General Meade, who possessed a prejudice against the colored race, resulting from his having known it while in a servile condition, was not willing that General Ferrero's corps should lead the assault. He insisted that a division of white troops must attack, and instead of sweeping the enemy's lines right and left, should "rush for the crest." It was evident from the persistence with which he opposed the adoption of General Burnside's plan, that General Meade cherished a belief that "acceding" to it might not be "consistent with his position as commanding general" of the Army of the Potomac. After considerable discussion, however, he referred the case to the decision of General

Grant, who had no personal knowledge of the subject, and could only base his opinion on the statement of General Meade. The decision was adverse, as might have been expected :

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, }
10.15 A. M., JULY 29, 1864. }

Major-General Burnside, commanding Ninth Corps:

I am instructed to say that the major-general commanding submitted to the Lieutenant-General commanding the Armies, your proposition to form the leading columns of assault of the black troops, and that he, as well as the major-general commanding, does not approve the proposition, but directs that these columns be formed of the white troops.

A. A. HUMPHREYS,

Major-General, Chief of Staff.

S. WILLIAMS, *Assistant Adjutant-General.*

The colored troops were not permitted to lead the assault, and the whole plan of attack was changed. At noon, on the 29th of July, General Meade gave General Burnside his orders for the next day. The assault was to be made by General Burnside, whose three divisions of white troops were to make for the summit of Cemetery Hill, and occupy it. The other troops were to support the attack. General Burnside was grievously disappointed, but he accepted the situation, complied strictly with General Meade's instructions, and issued his orders exactly in accordance with those of the "Commanding General." That night a large train of empty wagons was kept in motion, and the enemy was induced to believe that the movement upon Richmond had been commenced. The short summer night passed anxiously away, and soon after two o'clock on the morning of Saturday, July 30, 1864, General Burnside left his headquarters, and reported to what was known as the "Fourteen Gun Battery," directly

opposite the mine, to personally direct the operations of the Ninth Corps. General Meade soon after occupied the spot which General Burnside had just vacated,—a shady grove nearly a mile in the rear—where he was soon joined by General Grant. Telegraphic communication was established between General Meade and General Burnside.

The time fixed for the assault was half-past three o'clock, when, as there was no moon, the darkness would shut out from the enemy the stir and bustle of the Union troops as they got into position. But here the first misfortune of the day occurred. The army stood in suspense and silent patience, waiting for the explosion. But there was none. The fuse had gone out. The powder had become damp where the splices had been made. At quarter-past four o'clock two brave men—Lieut. Jacob Douty and Sergeant (afterwards Lieutenant) Henry Rees, of the Forty-eighth Pennsylvania Volunteers—volunteered to go into the mine and ascertain where the fuses had failed, put them in order, and light them. They performed their dangerous duty with coolness and bravery. The fuses were re-lighted and at sixteen minutes before five o'clock the mine was exploded.

The scene that ensued beggars description. For several seconds the ground swayed and quaked, then the earth was rent and a terrific sound burst upon the morning air. The immense mass of dull earth was thrown high in air, and those who were near the spot say that the clods of earth were mingled with cannon, caissons, camp-equipment, and human bodies, all shooting out in that fountain of horror, to fall into shapeless and pulverized atoms; where there had been a formidable earth-work, with its guns and men, now yawned a great crater two hundred

feet long, fifty feet wide, and twenty-five feet deep. In it were the bodies of the dead, crushed and mangled out of all resemblance to humanity, writhing forms partly buried, arms protruding here and legs struggling there, while with this chaos of mutilated humanity were fragments of weapons and munitions of war. Meanwhile the heavy guns and field artillery of the Army of the Potomac simultaneously opened fire.

The Fourteenth New York heavy artillery led the assaulting column, descended into the crater, and endeavored to pass through it, dash forward and storm the crest of the hill. They had nearly gained the summit, subject all the time to the severe fire of shot and shell, when they faltered and were compelled to fall back to the partial protection of the crater, leaving the ground thickly strewn with the dying and the dead.

General Meade, from his headquarters in the grove, back in the rear, where he could hear the roar of battle but could not see what was going on, ordered "General Burnside to "push forward" his "men at all hazards, white and black," and to have them "rush for the crest." General Ferrero was at once ordered in, and the colored troops charged gallantly, capturing and sending to the rear a stand of colors. Then one regiment, the Thirty-ninth Maryland, became panic-stricken and broke through to the rear. Their officers urged, then entreated, then threatened, but failed to rally them, and the mass, broken and shattered, swept back like a torrent into the crater, which was all choked with white troops.

Again did two divisions of the Ninth Corps advance up the hill, but all this time no attempt was made to relieve them by the other corps, which it was expected would support them.

At twenty minutes after seven o'clock, General Burnside telegraphed to General Meade: "I am doing all in my power to push the troops forward, and if possible we will carry the crest. It is hard work, but we hope to accomplish it."

Ten minutes later, General Meade sent the following written answer:

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, }
7:30 A. M., July 30, 1864.

Major-General Burnside:

What do you mean by hard work to take the crest? I understand not a man has advanced beyond the enemy's line which you occupied immediately after exploding the mine.

Do you mean to say your officers and men will not obey your orders to advance? If not, what is the obstacle? I wish to know the truth, and desire an immediate answer.

GEO. G. MEADE,

Major-General.

The general promptly replied to this ill-natured effusion as follows:

HEADQUARTERS NINTH ARMY CORPS, }
BATTERY MORTON, July 30, 1864.

General Meade:

Your dispatch, by Captain Jay, received. The main body of General Potter's division is beyond the crater. I do not mean to say that my officers and men will not obey my orders to advance. I mean to say that it is very hard work to advance to the crest.

I have never, in any report, said anything different from what I conceived to be the truth. Were it not insubordinate, I would say that the latter remark of your note was unofficerlike and ungentlemanly.

Respectfully yours,

A. E. BURNSIDE,

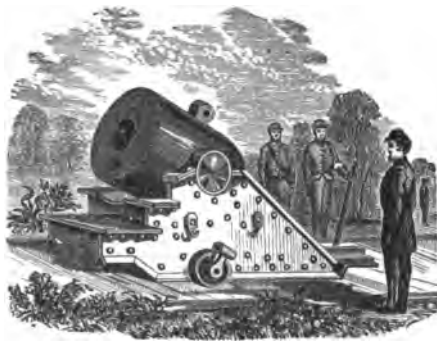
Major-General.

At eight o'clock, General Burnside — whose corps occupied the advance lines of the enemy's works, had seized four stands of colors, and had planted the stars and

stripes high up on Cemetery Hill — asked that the Fifth Corps, commanded by General Warren, might be ordered to attack, that a diversion might be made. The request was refused, and at half-past nine o'clock General Meade telegraphed to Generals Burnside, Warren, and Ord to withdraw their respective commands to their camps. Fifteen minutes later the order was peremptorily repeated to General Burnside. The Ninth Corps had seen the troops from which they expected support marched off in sight of the enemy, leaving them in the crater, and General Burnside, who had not been allowed to exercise the slightest discretion in moving or fighting his command, was left to withdraw them as best he could. The intervening space between the crater and the Union lines was swept by the enemy's guns, but General Meade was impatient and imperative, and the Ninth Corps suffered greatly as they withdrew, defeated but not disheartened. General Burnside, sorrow-stricken by the contemplation of this lamentable result of his well-laid plan, retired to his quarters at two o'clock in the afternoon. The losses of this bloody day amounted to about five thousand in killed, wounded, and missing, nine-tenths of which fell upon the Ninth Corps, and were largely incurred during the withdrawal from the crater. Neither the Second nor the Fifth Corps lost fifty men all told. General Meade at once undertook to try General Burnside by court-martial, and prepared elaborate charges and specifications, but they were disapproved by General Grant. President Lincoln, at General Burnside's request, ordered a court of inquiry "to examine into and report the facts" attendant upon the assault of July 30. General Burnside was relieved from the command of the Ninth Corps on the 13th of August, and immediately left for his home at Providence. Before leaving he ten-

dered his resignation, which Lieutenant-General Grant refused to receive.

Reaching Providence on the morning of August 16, General Burnside met the warm and hearty welcome that he had so often received in Rhode Island, and that he always deserved. His fellow-citizens had watched his course of skilfull and gallant service, and they felt confident that when all the facts were known, he would come out of the investigation, as he had come out of every other test, with undiminished claims upon the confidence and admiration of the country.





CHAPTER XXIV.

POPULAR DISAPPOINTMENT OVER THE RESULT AT PETERSBURG —
A COURT MARTIAL ASKED FOR BY GENERAL MEADE — A COURT
OF INQUIRY ORDERED — TESTIMONY — FINDINGS OF THE COURT
— REVIEW OF THEM — RETURN TO PROVIDENCE — VISITS THE
WHITE MOUNTAINS — SPEECH AT THE CENTENNIAL OF BROWN
UNIVERSITY.

THE disastrous result of the assault of July 30, 1864, after the explosion of the mine beneath the enemy's works before Petersburg, discouraged the public mind in the Northern states more than any previous defeat of the war, with the exception, perhaps, of the first battle of Bull Run. The determination, on the part of those who opposed the emancipation of the slaves, to disparage the employment of negro troops, led them to sharply criticise General Burnside, and to select him as a scape-goat of the failure. Others joined in the attack, forgetting his brave service in North Carolina and East Tennessee; forgetting the developments in regard to the assault at Fredericksburg, — which certainly did not leave him culpable, — and forgetting the history of the intrigues in the Army of the Potomac, in the midst of which the one

thing steadily clear was the character of Burnside. The disappointment of the mine betrayed the loyal North into an injustice, and the general was most sharply and impatiently condemned. Those who knew him (to quote the words of George William Curtis), bided their time. Those who knew his good sense, his soldierly character, his brave integrity, and who remembered his service, were very sure it would at last appear that, however severe and deplorable the misfortune, it could not be justly charged upon his sheer incapacity, or that the hero of Newbern and Knoxville had suddenly become a "blunderer and butcher." As for the general, he was no more daunted by calumny than by canister, and stood as firm and calm amidst the peltings of popular misrepresentation, as in the storm of shot and shell. "Some of us must lose our lives in this war," said he, "and some of us our reputations, perhaps, and a few must lose both;" and when he was urged to publish some explanation of the circumstances, he replied smilingly, "when the war is over there will be plenty of time to clean damaged reputations."

General Meade was the foremost among those who censured General Burnside. On the fourth day after the disaster he requested Lieutenant-General Grant to relieve General Burnside from further duty with the Army of the Potomac. He also preferred charges against him, wishing to try him by court-martial. These charges were for "disobedience of orders," and "conduct prejudicial to good order and military discipline." The specifications of the first charge were, for failure in communicating information, and neglect in relieving the Eighteenth Corps. That of the second was for addressing to General Meade a dispatch intimating that one of his orders was unofficer-like and ungentelemanly in tone. General Grant consid-

ered these charges frivolous, and refused to order a court-marshal, or to relieve General Burnside from duty.

General Meade, however, was not disposed to allow the matter to rest, and ordered a court of inquiry to investigate the mine and subsequent assault. This court was composed of General Hancock, who commanded the Second Corps, General Ayres, who commanded a division of the Fifth Corps, and General Miles who commanded a brigade of the Second Corps, — all officers in the supporting corps on the day of battle. Colonel Schriver, inspector-general at General Meade's headquarters, was the judge-advocate of the court, which decided when it first met that it could not proceed without the authority of the President of the United States. General Meade then obtained the legalization of the court by the President, and it commenced its sittings in camp on the 6th of August.

General Burnside made a formal protest to the Secretary of War against the constitution of the court, on the ground that the officers composing it had commands in the supporting columns, which were not brought into action on the 30th of July, and that the judge-advocate was a member of General Meade's staff, and felt that he had a right to ask that if an investigation were made it should be by officers who did not belong to the Army of the Potomac, and who were not selected by General Meade. He did not shrink from an investigation, but desired that it should be removed from even the suspicion of partiality. Secretary Stanton did not perceive the force of the objection, and assured General Burnside that he might feel entire confidence in the fairness and justice of the President in reviewing the case. "The action of the board of inquiry," said Mr. Stanton, "will be merely to collect facts for the President's information."

The court was in session seventeen days, during which time all the principal officers connected with the assault were examined. General Burnside gave a detailed account of the whole affair, dwelling especially on his regret at the over-ruling of that part of his plan which contemplated putting in the colored troops. He went on to say: "I am under the impression that I broached the subject myself, as to the colored division taking the advance, but whether I did or not, he (General Meade) informed me that General Grant coincided with him in opinion, and it was decided that I could not put that division in advance. I felt, and I suppose I expressed, and showed, very great disappointment at this announcement; and finally, in the conversation which occurred, and to which there are two witnesses here present, I asked General Meade if that decision could not be changed. He said, 'No, General, it cannot; it is final, and you must put in your white troops.' No doubt in the conversation I gave some of the reasons for not wishing to put in the white troops in that I had given at his headquarters, but of that I am not certain."

The court, on the seventeenth day, delivered an elaborate "finding." After stating the causes of failure, and the reasons why the attack ought to have been successful, they gave the names of five officers who appeared, in their opinion, to be "answerable for the want of success." The first of these officers was Major-General Burnside, who was answerable because he had failed to obey the orders of the commanding general, viz. :

1. In not giving such formation to his assaulting column as to insure a reasonable prospect of success.
2. In not preparing his parapets and abatis for the passage of the columns of assault.
3. In not employing engineer officers, who reported to him, to lead the assaulting columns with working parties, and not causing to be provided

proper materials necessary for crowning the crest when the assaulting columns should arrive there.

4. In neglecting to execute Major-General Meade's orders, respecting the prompt advance of General Ledlie's troops from the crater to the crest; or, in default of accomplishing that, not causing those troops to fall back and give place to other troops more willing and equal to the task, instead of delaying until the opportunity passed away, thus affording time for the enemy to recover from his surprise, concentrate his fire, and bring his troops to operate against the Union troops assembled uselessly in the crater.

The court added: "Notwithstanding the failure to comply with orders and to apply proper military principles ascribed to General Burnside, the Court is satisfied and believe that the measures taken by him would insure success."

The testimony upon which the court based its opinion does not justify the finding. General Burnside was shown to have manifested a desire to execute the orders of General Meade, and his battle-order to his division officers, through whom alone it could be executed, was as clear as General Meade's order to him. The formation of his column of assault must have been determined by the officers having the immediate direction of the attack, and was answerable in this by the condition of the ground. Indeed, the formation was not altogether by the flank; for General Hartranft testified that "he formed his command, which was immediately in the rear of the first division, in two regiments front."

The second point made by the court against General Burnside, in not having made preparation for the passage of the assault columns, is not sustained by the evidence. There was no necessity for the leveling of the parapets, and the abatis was so much cut up by the enemy's fire as to offer little obstruction to the advance. General Willcox stated that what was left of it when his division passed

over was no obstacle whatever. Captain Farquhar, the chief engineer of the Eighteenth Corps, testified that "there seemed to be room enough at" his "salient to pass over certainly in regimental front," but the passage was not practicable for artillery; moreover, more troops passed out of the lines than could be well handled upon the ground they occupied.

The third point made by the court against General Burnside, for "not causing to be provided the necessary materials for crowning the crest," is utterly at variance with the testimony. General Burnside testified that an engineer regiment was detailed for the advance of his corps, fully equipped with the necessary tools for entrenching. General Potter testified that his regiment of engineers was immediately in the neighborhood of the breastworks, prepared, with spades and pick-axes, to level the works for the passage of field batteries, in case the forward command was not successful, and that axes were provided with which the *chevaux-de-frise* on the enemy's line for two or three hundred yards was broken down. General Griffin testified that he had under his command a pioneer corps equipped with the necessary implements and tools. Major Randall testified that he saw the Twenty-fifth Massachusetts near the crater, equipped with shovels and spades.

Two officers of the corps of engineers, who had been sent from the headquarters of General Meade but who were not employed by him, were ignorant concerning the employment of working troops; but their vague statements should not have been permitted by the court to outweigh the positive testimony above mentioned.

The fourth point by the court made against General Burnside, that he had not pushed forward General Ledlie's

division from the crater to the crest of the hill, was not supported by any testimony. On the contrary, Sergeant Chubb testified that General Ledlie received orders in his hearing "to move his troops forward from where they were then lying," and that General Ledlie "frequently sent his aides-de-camp to have them move forward." The court, in censuring General Ledlie, based its condemnation of that officer upon his neglect to report the condition of affairs to his commander. Thus General Burnside was censured for not sending General Ledlie's troops forward, and General Ledlie was censured for failing to give the information upon which General Burnside was expected to act. General Burnside was answerable for the failure, because he did not withdraw General Ledlie's troops in order to give place to others, but it was manifestly impossible to withdraw the troops while General Meade was continually ordering them forward.

The court also held "answerable for the want of success, General Ledlie, General Ferrero, Colonel Bliss, and General Willcox." A paragraph was added to express the opinion⁷ of the court, that "explicit orders should have been given, assigning one officer to the command of all the troops intended to engage in the assault, when the commanding general was not present in person to witness the operations."

General Burnside, it will be remembered, was not permitted to exercise the "prerogative" of the commanding officer of the army, and he had been sharply rebuked upon the mere suspicion that he had any design to do so. General Meade consequently fought the battle by telegraph, all the while, to use his own words, "groping in the dark." He positively refused to go forward when General Warren suggested to him that it would be well to be where he

could see and know what was doing in front. Lieutenant-General Grant had behaved very differently, having gone to the front to reconnoiter in person.

General Burnside having delivered his testimony before the court of inquiry, left for Providence, where, as has already been stated, he was heartily welcome. His health having suffered, he made a visit to the White Mountains, where, when called upon to address admiring crowds, he took a cheerful and hopeful view of the present aspect, declaring his confidence in the ability of the government to crush out the Rebellion. He also expressed surprise at the despondency of many persons at the North, and said at Centre Harbor that he had heard more grumbling in three days since he had left the army, than he had during his whole march from Newbern to Petersburg.

Attending the New England Agricultural Fair at Worcester, he made a pleasant speech, in which he spoke of his enjoyment on the occasion: "I have enjoyed it," said he, "the more because, notwithstanding I am, in reality, a citizen of Rhode Island, I was born in the extreme West, and the early part of my life was passed upon a farm, and you can easily realize I have enjoyed my visit to a greater extent than many of the persons who are now in the sound of my voice, who have passed their lives in cities and towns. I am sure no one feels a greater interest in this society than I, myself. I am a citizen of New England, and feel fully identified with her honor and interests. My mind has been so taken up with what has been occupying, in fact, the minds of all of us for the last two or three years since the Rebellion commenced, that I can bring it to bear on nothing else. I can think of nothing else of any interest except the great cause in which we are now engaged. All my strength and works I have brought to bear in the proper direction, trying to do all I could to

obey the constituted authorities of this government in re-establishing the authority which ought to be acknowledged by every good citizen of the United States."

General Burnside also attended the centennial celebration of Brown University, and was called upon for a response to the sentiment: "Our Honorary and Regular Graduates in the Army — *Decus et Præsidium*." When the applause which greeted him on rising had subsided, General Burnside said, "When our Nation was in danger, it became the duty of every citizen to do all in his power to aid the existing authorities in their efforts to stay the danger. By the fulfillment of their duty, our army — I may say our gallant, efficient army — was created: and no unimportant element of that army was constituted by the gallant volunteers from this noble State, who were almost the first to go to the capital for its defense; and among them were many of the distinguished graduates of this noble institution, who have performed noble and gallant service in our army, and many are now performing such service, and I, as one who has been dignified and honored by the title of an honorary graduate of Brown University, beg to thank you for the kind remembrance in which you have held those graduates on this auspicious day."

He went on to urge a cordial support to the army until the Rebellion should be crushed and the authority of the government sustained. "Our army," said he, "is not a mercenary army. It is composed of our own citizens. Every praying man in the army, — and there are a great many more of them than we are apt to imagine, — I say every praying man in our army asks of God daily, almost hourly, that peace may be reestablished; but whilst that desire is uppermost in his heart, no honest, loyal, and true soldier will ever consent to a division of his country."



CHAPTER XXV.

THE POLITICAL CAMPAIGN OF 1864 — SPEECH AT PROVIDENCE — CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATION OF THE ATTACK ON PETERSBURG — TESTIMONY OF LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT — REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE — CLOSE OF THE WAR — RESIGNATION — MILITARY CHARACTER — RETURN TO CIVIL LIFE — PRESIDENT OF THE CINCINNATI AND MARTINSVILLE RAILROAD.

GENERAL BURNSIDE, relieved from military cares, entered heartily into the political campaign of 1864, and participated in several political demonstrations in Rhode Island. His presence always awakened the enthusiastic admiration which awaits modest but consummate ability, tried integrity, heroic valor, and the best qualities that make the soldier and adorn the man.

At a large gathering of the friends of Lincoln and Johnson, held on Market Square, at Providence, General Burnside told his applauding hearers that "long after this Rebellion shall have been suppressed, and the names of its leaders and prominent sympathizers remembered only in contempt and pity, the names of Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson will stand out in the pages of history in brilliant letters of loyalty, love of freedom and devotion to

free institutions. The great and glorious Emancipation Proclamation will then be held up to the entire civilized world as one of the wisest, noblest, and boldest edicts that ever emanated from the pen of ruler or statesman. The same proclamation might have been issued at an earlier day by one of our uncompromising anti-slavery leaders, without giving those in arms against the government who held property in slaves a fair notice, and before it had become apparent to any considerable portion of our people that the right of protection to that class of property had been forfeited by the treason of its holders; or it might have been issued by one of our leaders, who could see that harm was resulting to the Union cause from the use of slaves by the enemies of the government. But the President gave ample warning, and delayed action much longer than was thought wise by many of our patriotic citizens, only taking the step when it was clear to him that he owed it as a duty to the soldiers and sailors in the service and to their friends at home, to give them an additional aid in their noble work by turning to their account a force which had been used against them, either directly, by building fortifications and performing other military labor, or indirectly, by raising food and doing other work which enabled their masters to leave their homes and take up arms against their government.

“The Emancipation Proclamation,” said General Burnside, “was issued as a war measure, and I will not ask you, my friends, to go as far as I do in support of that measure, until you are convinced of its entire wisdom, justice, and practicability. But no harm can result from telling you how fully and freely I support it. I have resolved never to willingly do an act that will tend to enslave any man, woman, or child who is made free by that procla-

mation, nor to fail to do all in my power as a citizen or soldier, in the field or at the ballot-box, to insure freedom to all who are held in contemplation by the proclamation. The obligation to keep this resolution I conceive to be as binding as that which would induce me to keep a resolve not to enter into an arrangement to fit out slave-ships in New York or Boston harbors, for the purpose of trafficking in slaves between the coast of Africa and the island of Cuba; for, if by any act I am party to any armistice, compromise, or treaty that reënlaves men made free by the war measure, the responsibility of enslaving human beings rests upon me."

On election-day, General Burnside heard that one of his old soldiers was ill and unable to walk to the polls. Going to the registry-list, he ascertained that the veteran was a qualified voter, and sent his carriage for the brave fellow, who was thus able to deposit his ballot to fortify the bullets he had sent into the rebel ranks. While he was thus earnest in encouraging the political success of the Republicans, he frequently expressed his belief that those arrayed against each other in hostility would be friends, and that the time would come when every loyal heart would turn with kindness toward all of the Confederates who would lay down their arms and recognize the authority of the government.

When Congress met, a Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War was directed to inquire into and report the facts concerning the attack on Petersburg. This committee met in the city of Washington, at different times, from Dec. 17, 1864, to Jan. 16, 1865. Nearly all of those who had testified before the court of inquiry were examined by the joint committee, and their evidence was more complete and clear than that which they gave before the court. The questions which were put by the joint committee were

more thorough and searching in their character than those put by the officers of the court to the witnesses, and they expressed their opinions with greater freedom.

Lieutenant-General Grant, in his testimony, showed that he had permitted the troops to go forward under Gen. Meade's orders, to crowd into the crater, and to remain there at least three hours after the time when, in his opinion, the opportunity of victory was lost. It was, moreover, very evident that the employment of colored troops had been pre-



ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

sented to his mind by General Meade in an unfavorable manner. To a question concerning General Burnside's plan of putting his division of colored troops in the advance, General Grant answered :

"General Burnside wanted to put his colored division in front, and I believe if he had done so it would have been a success. Still, I agree with General Meade in his objection to that plan. General Meade said that if we put the colored troops in front (we had only that one division) and it should prove a failure, it would then be said, and very properly, that we were shoving those people ahead to get killed because we did not care anything about them. But that could not be said if we put white troops in front. That is the only point he changed, to my knowledge, after he had given his orders to General Burnside."

The Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War, after a

careful and impartial review of the testimony taken by them, expressed their opinion in decisive terms, as will be seen by the following paragraphs from their report :

Your committee cannot, from all the testimony, avoid the conclusion that the first and great cause of disaster was the change made on the afternoon preceding the attack, in the arrangement of General Burnside to place the division of colored troops in the advance. The reasons assigned by General Burnside for not taking one of his divisions of white troops for that purpose are fully justified by the result of the attack. Their previous arduous labors, and peculiar position, exposed continually to the enemy's fire, had, as it were, trained them in the habit of seeking shelter; and, true to that training, they sought shelter the first opportunity that presented itself after leaving our lines. And it is but reasonable to suppose that the immediate commander of a corps is better acquainted with the condition and efficiency of particular divisions of his corps than a general further removed from them.

The conduct of the colored troops, when they were put into action, would seem to fully justify the confidence that General Burnside reposed in them. And General Grant himself, in his testimony, expresses his belief that if they had been placed in the advance, as General Burnside desired, the assault would have been successful, although at the time the colored troops were ordered in the white troops already in were in confusion, and had failed in the assault upon the crest beyond the crater, and the fire of the enemy had become exceedingly destructive. The colored troops advanced in good order, passed through the enemy's lines and beyond our disorganized troops there, and, stopping but a short time to re-form, made the charge as directed. But the fire of the enemy was too strong, and some others of our troops hurrying back through their lines, they were thrown into confusion and forced to retire.

Your committee desire to say that, in the statement of facts and conclusions which they present in their report, they wish to be distinctly understood as in no degree censuring the conduct of the troops engaged in this assault. While they confidently believe that the selection of the division of colored troops by General Burnside to lead the assault was, under the circumstances, the best that could have been made, they do not intend, thereby, to have it inferred that the white troops of the Ninth Corps are behind any troops in the service in those qualities which have placed our volunteer troops before the world as equal, if not superior, to any known to modern warfare. The services performed by the Ninth Corps on many a well-fought battle-field, not only in this campaign but in others, have been such as to prove that they are second to none in the service. Your

committee believe that any other troops exposed to the same influences, under the same circumstances, and for the same length of time, would have been similarly affected. No one, upon a careful consideration of all the circumstances, can be surprised that those influences should have produced the effects they did upon them.

In conclusion they, your committee, must say that, in their opinion, the cause of the disastrous result of the assault of the 30th of July last is mainly attributable to the fact that the plans and suggestions of the general who had devoted his attention for so long a time to the subject, who had carried out to a successful completion the project of mining the enemy's works, and who had carefully selected and drilled his troops for the purpose of securing whatever advantages might be attainable from the explosion of the mine, should have been so entirely disregarded by a general who had evinced no faith in the successful prosecution of that work, had aided it by no countenance or open approval, and had assumed the entire direction and control only when it was completed, and the time had come for reaping any advantages that might be derived.

Respectfully submitted,

B. F. WADE, *Chairman.*

While the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War was pursuing its investigations, General Burnside, at their request, remained in Washington. He was anxious to have his own conduct criticised, but he did not seek to disparage other generals, or endeavor to detract from their merits. President Lincoln sought his society and his counsel, but again refused to accept his resignation, saying that he might want to entrust him with an important command in the fall. But the war was virtually at an end, and on the 9th of April, 1865, General Lee surrendered to General Grant, at Appomattox Court House, the survivors of his brave army, which had struggled gallantly against the inevitable and the irrepressible. After peace had been declared, General Burnside once more tendered his resignation, which was accepted by President Johnson on the 15th of April, 1865.

The record of General Burnside's military career shows

that he believed that "the post of honor was the post of duty." As General Browne, of Indiana, remarked in his eulogy, "From the day on which he accepted the command of the Rhode Island regiment until he resigned, he gave his services to the Nation that had educated him, and his name was a part of its history. He was a man of intrepid courage—a courage unmixed with insolence or brutality.

His was not the brutal force
Of vulgar heroes,

for in no sense of the word was he a braggart or a bully. He feared no man but himself. If there was one infirmity in his nature, it was the lack of self-confidence. He did a great injustice to his own powers, for he was an infinitely greater and stronger man than he thought himself to be. He weakened himself by his self-distrust, and sometimes failed to win—not because he feared for his personal safety, but because he was afraid he might put in jeopardy his country and its cause. Future generations will learn from General Burnside's example the lesson of devotion to duty and loyalty to human liberty."

While the loyal North claimed General Burnside as one of the heroes of the war for the suppression of the Rebellion, he was especially dear to the people of his adopted state, who had with peculiar interest and affection followed the brilliant career of "the colonel of the famous old Rhode Island First Regiment." The *Providence Journal*, in an editorial article announcing the acceptance of General Burnside's resignation, said :

Everywhere, and at all times, he has done his whole duty. In the darkest hours of the war, when many hearts desponded, he never wavered or doubted. Full of confidence in our superior power, and full of the most implicit faith in the principle that God must give us the victory,

because our cause was just, he had the happy faculty of inspiring all those around him, his friends, the audiences he addressed, and his army with the same hope which lighted up his own heart. One of the first of the regular army officers to approve heartily of Mr. Lincoln's emancipation policy, he was also one of the first to favor the arming of black troops, and one of the most successful in training them for action. Utterly free from that jealousy of the fame of others which has detracted from the merits and impaired the efficiency of so many officers, he was quick to recognize the talent of all his comrades, and magnanimous almost to a fault in judging the motives of those who attempted by unworthy means to injure him. It is not strange that with these noble and generous traits he has been so beloved by all the officers and soldiers under him, and by the Nation at large. We doubt if any one of our prominent officers has more endeared himself to all who knew him than our warm-hearted, large-hearted, self-sacrificing, patriotic Burnside. We trust that wherever his business may call him, he will still regard Rhode Island as his home. She certainly will always claim him as her adopted son.

Resuming the pursuits of civil life, General Burnside became identified with the construction of railroads, for which he was qualified by his West Point education. The stockholders of the Illinois Central Railroad Company, which he had served as treasurer before the war, elected him a director. In 1865 he was elected president of the Cincinnati and Martinsville Railroad, from Fairland to Martinsville, Indiana, a distance of forty miles. To complete the construction of this railroad, \$400,000 of seven per cent. first mortgage bonds were issued, guaranteed by the Indianapolis, Cincinnati and Lafayette Railroad Company, to which the road was leased in advance of its completion. It required no small financial ability to negotiate a sufficient amount of these bonds to pay the contractors, but it was done, and the road was placed in working order.

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CHAPTER XXVI.

NOMINATED AND ELECTED GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND—RAIL-ROAD OPERATIONS AT THE WEST—SOLDIERS' MONUMENT AT PROVIDENCE—PRESENTATION—RE-ELECTION—A WEST POINT COMRADE AIDED—THE KINGSBURY WILL—VINCENNES AND CAIRO RAILROAD.

THE announcement, in the spring of 1866, that the name of General Burnside would be presented to the convention called to nominate a Republican candidate for governor of Rhode Island, was received with great enthusiasm. His pure patriotism, his large heart, his noble bearing, his genial kindness, his willingness to suffer unduly rather than blame others, his love of duty rather than position, constituted the amplest claim to the regards of his adopted state. The people of Rhode Island, whose battle-flags bore the names of his victories, were delighted to inscribe his name upon their state banner. When the convention met, General Burnside was enthusiastically nominated by acclamation, and it was felt that Rhode Island, by inviting him to the chair of her chief magistrate, honored herself by calling him. At the election, which was held on the 4th of April, 1866, General Burnside received 7,725 votes; Lyman Pierce, his Demo-

cratic opponent, received 2,776 votes, and there were 160 scattering votes.

On Tuesday, the 29th of May, 1866, General Burnside was inaugurated into his office, at Newport, amid a greater amount of enthusiasm than had ever before stirred the hearts of the people. On Election day the entire volunteer militia of the State came to Newport to participate in the pageant, and in their ranks were hundreds of veterans who had served under the general. The city sergeant proclaimed from the balcony of the State House, in accordance with the time-honored programme, "Hear ye! Hear ye! Hear ye! His Excellency Ambrose E. Burnside has been duly elected Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations!" Then the cannon roared, the bands played, the assembled multitude cheered, and the governor was escorted through the streets by the military, receiving, all along the route, bouquets and the waving of handkerchiefs from the ladies, with cheers from the men.

As chief magistrate of Rhode Island, General Burnside exhibited in the strongest light those distinctive traits of character for which he was so remarkable. He had obeyed the commands of authority as a soldier, and he expected from every subordinate official, civil or military, that allegiance that alone can insure success. Independent in his disposition, with original ideas and fearless in expressing them, and jealous of the honor of his adopted state, he made a useful chief magistrate. He heard what was to be said on every disputed question which came before him, holding his judgment in abeyance until nothing more was said on either side, and then formed his opinion with inflexible firmness. The only exception was when petitioners appeared before him, asking pardon for

those who were alleged to be undergoing unjust sentences. On such occasions mercy predominated over justice.

While discharging the duties of governor, General Burnside was also actively engaged as president of the Cincinnati and Martinsville Railroad Company, as president of the Rhode Island Locomotive Works at Providence, as president of the Indianapolis and Vincennes Railroad Company, and as a director of the Illinois Central Railroad Company, and the Narragansett Steamship Company. In these varied enterprises, as in the performance of his duties as chief magistrate, personal responsibility was General Burnside's secret of success. Every official, every clerk, and every engineer was made to know that he must perform his duty. The acts of every one were subjected to a careful supervision, and every minor detail was closely looked after. Inspiring his associates and subordinates with a consciousness of strength, the spirit of energetic determination, and well-regulated habits of industry, General Burnside found it an easy task to secure their zealous coöperation.

General Burnside was the chairman of a committee of the General Assembly, appointed in June, 1866, to invite designs for a monument to the memory of the officers and men in the army and navy of the United States who fell in battle, and who died of their wounds or from sickness, during the late Rebellion. A number of designs were submitted, and the committee finally selected that of Mr. Randolph Rogers, in which architecture and sculpture combined to express public gratitude. In concluding a report stating the selection which they had made, the committee said :

The awful storm of war has past. Peace, at least in our borders, has resumed her gracious sway; but the men who called her home from the

bloody field and the stormy wave are not all here. Their resting-places are on distant battle-grounds, or rebel prison-yards, or under the unmarked and remote soil; but here are their empty places; here are those to whom when in life they were dear, and who now cherish their memories with a proud sorrow; here is the State for which they sacrificed



SOLDIERS AND SAILORS MONUMENT, PROVIDENCE.

themselves; here, in anyplace, must the records of their deeds be preserved. When the danger was imminent, the State sent forth her sons; it is no wonder that now, when the danger is past, she should remember their devotion, and should resolve to erect for the coming ages, a memorial of their self-sacrifice, and an incentive to imitate their patriotism. To such a purpose, who would not say God-speed? Who would not open the purse of the State to honor her patriot dead? Who would not invite the greatest of arts to commemorate the noblest of virtues? All of which is respectfully submitted by your committee,

A. E. BURNSIDE, *Chairman*.

In the fall of 1866, a magnificent silver punch-bowl was presented to General Burnside by the gentlemen who had served on his personal staff during the war. The bowl stood eighteen inches high, and was twelve inches across the top. It was supported on a solid octagon base, about six inches across, with a cannon at each corner. On the front of the base was General Burnside's monogram, and on the reverse, the badge of the Ninth Army Corps. A wreath of laurel wound around the base, and swords, gauntlets, regulation hats, and other military insignia were artistically engraved upon the bowl. On the front was a representation of the national flag, with the names of twelve of the most prominent battles in which the general was engaged engraved upon the stripes.

On the 28th of May, 1867, General Burnside was re-elected governor of Rhode Island, receiving 7,569 votes, against 3,339 votes for Lyman Pierce, his Democratic opponent, and six scattering votes. An incident illustrating the generous disposition of General Burnside has been narrated by Gen. Harry Heth, his classmate, roommate, and life-long friend. General Heth, who was a Virginian, espoused the Confederate cause, and at the close of the war found himself without means and with a family to support. While in this condition, the following incident occurred. It was narrated by General Heth himself, at a meeting of West Point classmates, in the city of New York.

Burnside wrote me a kind and loving letter, requesting me to meet him in this city. I came here, went to his hotel, sent up my card, and in reply was requested to wait a few minutes; on reaching his room I found him alone; he at once bolted the door. A few months before, we had been locked in a struggle for life or death, upon many bloody battle-fields.

For thirty seconds not a word was spoken. Your imaginations may,

possibly, picture the scene. He was first to break the silence. He said, "Heth, old fellow, what are your plans?" I answered I had formed none. He replied, "I have formed them for you. Your father, during his life, was a large owner and worker of coal property near Richmond. Return to Virginia and find some good coal-lands, and let us work them jointly; when found, come and see me."

The coal-lands were found, and I again met him in New York.

He said, "We will work these lands as equal partners, on one condition, which I will presently state. I am now governor of Rhode Island; that takes up but little of my time; I am also president of the 'Providence Locomotive Works;' that duty takes up some time, but every spare moment is occupied in superintending the building of a railroad in Illinois; you must take entire charge of this work in Virginia, and all that I promise to do is to honor your drafts to any amount you may desire to draw for."

General Burnside organized a company, which was chartered by the General Assembly of Rhode Island, to work these "Norwood Coal Mines," but they did not prove a success. General Burnside, however, in other ways promoted the welfare of his friend, General Heth.

General Burnside, while he was governor, paid great attention to the volunteer militia of Rhode Island, with which he had been so honorably identified. In 1867 a complete roster was published, which also included all officers who had been commissioned in the Rhode Island militia during the war for the suppression of the Rebellion.

Senator Maxey, of Texas, also a classmate of General Burnside at West Point who was arrayed against him during the war, and whose friendly relations were resumed when they became members of the United States Senate, narrated, in an eloquent eulogy which he delivered, the following characteristic story, which he obtained from the legal records of the case:

Maj. Julius J. B. Kingsbury, deceased, formerly of the army, was at his death the owner of valuable real estate, principally in Chicago, worth

about one million dollars. His only children and heirs were Mrs. Mary K. Buckner, wife of General S. B. Buckner, a distinguished and gallant officer of the Confederate Army, and Henry W. Kingsbury, a promising young officer of the Union Army, who fell, mortally wounded, Sept. 17, 1862, at the head of his regiment, the Eleventh Connecticut Volunteers, at Antietam. On the 15th of May, 1861, General Buckner and wife, then living at Louisville, Kentucky, executed a conveyance, without the knowledge of Henry Kingsbury, to him of her interest in the property, of the value at that time of about five hundred thousand dollars. At that time Henry was a young, unmarried man. The conveyance was absolute on its face, and without Henry's knowledge was recorded in the registry of deeds in Chicago. The first intimation, in fact, that he had of this deed was given to him by General Buckner in this city, July 7, 1861. It was accepted by Henry as a sacred trust, as is shown by his reply in the conversation referred to. Both knew and felt that the clouds of war were gathering thick and fast. They instinctively felt that convictions would lead them to opposing sides. Absolute confidence was felt, and justly so, by each in the other. Young Kingsbury knew and felt that life in the midst of war was very uncertain. He felt that, as an honorable man, clothed with a sacred trust, he should make provision to preserve to his sister her property in case of his death, and, to carry out his purpose, wrote, on the 25th of March, 1862, at Fortress Monroe, Virginia, what he intended to be a will. In that will or paper Burnside was named one of the executors. He had the absolute confidence of Henry Kingsbury, and also of General Buckner. He had enjoyed the friendship and confidence of Henry's father in his life-time, and had that of his mother. Henry Kingsbury married, after the date of the conversation referred to, and a child and heir was born unto him after his death.

This necessitated the settlement of the question of title to the Chicago property. Was the deed to be held an absolute conveyance, or was it a trust? In the investigation of this intricate and delicate question, the paper designed to be a will became important, not as a will, but as a writing showing the character in which Henry held his sister's interest in the property.

Burnside, as executor, set to work to find and possess this will or paper, and found it in the possession of a Mr. Hazard, in the city of New York. Hazard refused to deliver it up, and possession was only obtained through a contested application before the surrogate. Letters testamentary were issued to Burnside, and the will was admitted to probate in Virginia, and an authenticated copy was soon after exhibited to the county court of Cook County, in which Chicago is situated, and ordered to record.

The outcome of the litigation that ensued was, that the deed from

Buckner and wife to Henry W. Kingsbury was adjudged to be a trust, and Mrs. Buckner's property was rightfully restored to her.

Of young Kingsbury, the supreme court of Illinois says: "The late Henry W. Kingsbury was, as this case shows, not only a trustee of the property for his sister, but was an honest trustee." What a splendid monument to his memory! What an inheritance, infinitely beyond riches, to leave to his child, unborn at his death!

General Buckner, in a note to Senator Maxey in respect to these proceedings, speaking of General Burnside and his efforts to find, possess, and establish the will, says:

His sole object was to see full justice done between all the parties concerned, without partiality or favor to any. He preserved the esteem, I feel assured, of all the parties, and certainly preserved the high regard and affection in which I constantly held him during our long and continued association and friendship. His sole desire was to discharge fully the trust reposed in him by his young friend, Henry Kingsbury, but the fact that justice and equity were on my side does not lessen my feeling of gratitude for his noble conduct.

In the fall of 1867 General Burnside entered into negotiations by which he became, in the spring of 1868, president of the Vincennes and Cairo Railroad, with entire control of the work. He arranged for leasing the road to other corporations, who guaranteed the principal and interest of bonds which he issued. This guarantee enabled him to dispose of the bonds, and to proceed with the construction of the road without embarrassment.

On the 26th of May, 1868, General Burnside was for the third time elected governor of Rhode Island, receiving 10,054 votes, against 5,709 for Lyman Pierce, and five scattering. On assuming the office of governor of Rhode Island, General Burnside found a large unsettled account against the general government, for expenses incurred in recruiting regiments for the Union army. His military training and intimate acquaintance with the use of red tape

in the various bureaus of the War Department enabled him to have these accounts put into such shape as secured their payment. The General Assembly of Rhode Island recognized his services by the passage of the following resolution :

Resolved, That the General Assembly appreciate with high satisfaction the valuable services of His Excellency the Governor, in his successful settlement of the claims of this State against the United States.

While governor of Rhode Island, General Burnside was fortunate in having as his secretary of state that ripe scholar and accomplished gentleman, John Russell Bartlett, who has done so much to secure biographical sketches of the Rhode Island officers who served in the war for the suppression of the Rebellion. His advice strengthened and dignified the administration of General Burnside.

In the spring of 1869 the surviving officers of the Ninth Corps met in the city of New York, to form a permanent organization in the name of the "Society of the Burnside Expedition and Ninth Army Corps," and the association, formed later in that year, still exists.





CHAPTER XXVII.

HOME AT PROVIDENCE—LOVE OF THE SOLDIERS FOR "OLD BURN-
NEY"—COURTESY TOWARDS INFERIORS—AN ACT OF KINDNESS
—ATTACK MADE ON HIM BY SENATOR SPRAGUE—DEFENSE OF
HIM BY SENATORS ANTHONY, NYE, CHANDLER, ABBOTT, AND
MORTON—TESTIMONIAL FROM CITIZENS OF RHODE ISLAND—
NINTH ARMY CORPS ASSOCIATION.

GENERAL BURNSIDE'S home in Providence was a commodious, substantially-built house on Benefit Street, comfortably, although not extravagantly furnished, and containing many souvenirs of the war. He had there a good library of reference, which he frequently consulted, not skimming over the books to pass away time, but looking into them as a man of mind, who wishes to derive benefit from all that he reads. When he undertook to study a question he went directly to the first principles, separating that which was casual and local from that which was permanent and founded on the basis of moral justice. There was nothing about him of that bustling smartness so often seen in persons of ordinary mind, striving to perform something to attract the attention of those around them. He never seemed hurried or confused, in the performance of his multitudinous avocations, but went about them systematically, calmly, and quietly.

Blessed with an iron frame that felt few or no infirmities, and free from those vices which often bring down the mighty intellect to a degrading enslavement, his path of duty was not obstructed by any physical, moral, or mental weakness. His was "a sound mind in a sound body."

General Burnside was a lover of peace, of industry, and of progress. To help those who were endeavoring to help themselves, was his sagacious plan, and he was eminently successful. Kindness was the means to all his ends—and to every one, on every suitable occasion, he preached kindness. The soldiers who had served under him were the constant objects of his solicitude, and when the silver-toned bugles had proclaimed peace, he was none the less anxious to promote their welfare.

His military nature was heroic, but at the same time childlike; and in his camp deportment there was a strange union of sternness and gentleness. He was loved by his soldiers, not coldly, as men love men, but tenderly and intensely, as men love women. He was as perfect an embodiment as the Republic affords of the patriotism, the integrity, the sobriety, the magnanimity, the virtue, and the valor of the American citizen-soldier,—bred from youth up to the calling of arms, and gifted with the bravery, judgment, and modesty of the knights of old, who sat at King Arthur's Round Table.

The Rev. Mr. Woodbury, who knew him so well, speaks of the love and respect, as well as confidence, entertained towards General Burnside by the soldiers, especially those who served in the Ninth Army Corps. As had been the case when he was moving among them, in camp or on the march, when they met him in civil life there was always a cheer for "Old Burney," and the soldiers now love to tell of the cheerful smile that brightened up his countenance

as he lifted his broad-brimmed felt hat and returned their salute. They had no reason for calling him "old," except as an expression of their affection, for he was only forty-one years of age when the war ended. The love they had for their commander tightened the bonds of comradeship throughout the corps, and united the officers and men very closely together. Mr. Woodbury has also borne testimony to the kind considerateness which General Burnside always showed towards others, and especially towards those in humble life.

The general's faithful colored servant, who had accompanied him on his ride across the plains and throughout the war, was always treated by him more like a brother than a domestic. Toward those who were at service in the families of his friends there was always the same friendly courtesy. He recognized and greeted them on the street, taking off his hat to them as to a lady or gentleman of his acquaintance, or taking them by the hand and speaking a kindly word. He seldom, if ever, left his home, to be away even for a day or two, without going into the kitchen to bid good-bye to those in his own employ; and they said, when he was no more, that they had lost their best friend. He remembered their birthdays, and certain anniversaries in their lives or his own, and had some little gift or token of remembrance ready for them. The kind-hearted gentleman, courted and admired by the best society in the land, never forgot to be courteous and helpful to the humblest dependent. It was the natural expression of his generous heart.

Among many other instances of General Burnside's goodness of heart, the following was narrated in the *New York Sun* at the time: A laborer who was at work upon a new pavement on the Fifth Avenue, near Twentieth

Street, in that city, was prostrated by heat, and fell near the curb-stone. No other workmen were near at hand, but General Burnside, who happened to be passing, having seen him fall, hastened to his relief and aided in placing him in an easier position on the sidewalk. The general then stopped a passing ice-cart and obtained ice which he applied to the poor man's head and hands. By this time a multitude began to collect, but no policemen were in sight. After putting the sufferer in an easier position and requesting the throng to stand back and give him the benefit of the little air there was, the general himself went to the Union Club for a physician, and returned to look after his charge. "Our reporter," said the newspaper paragraph, "knew the modest gentleman who was taking such an interest in the laborer, but the spectators did not dream that the generous stranger was the distinguished citizen who led Rhode Island to the war."

Just before the expiration of General Burnside's third term as governor of Rhode Island, and after he had peremptorily declined a re-nomination, he was unexpectedly assailed in the United States Senate, in a speech delivered by ex-Governor William Sprague, then a Senator from Rhode Island. Stimulated, doubtless, by financial embarrassment which subsequently resulted in bankruptcy, Mr. Sprague recounted, in doleful jeremiad, the financial disasters which were threatening the country. These dangers, he asserted, were caused by the pernicious influence of those who control capital on legislation, society, business, and even the fortunes of war. Selecting the time-honored house of Brown & Ives, of Providence, as an illustration, he proceeded to denounce that firm, and finally held it responsible for the reverses of the United States forces at the first battle of Bull Run. Nor was this all.

He arraigned the First Rhode Island Regiment as cowards, and their commander, General Burnside, as incompetent, and only anxious to save the lives of the rich men under him.

Senator Anthony, of Rhode Island, took the floor at the earliest possible moment, and replied in scathing language to the extraordinary speech of his colleague. He said that he could be silent under crude theories of political economy, and exploded schemes of finance ; he could be silent under long extracts from history and biography, and any inconsequential and unconnected comments upon them ; he could remain silent under personal aspersions, but he would not remain silent when men among the most respectable of his constituents are assailed, and when the honor of Rhode Island is insulted.

After paying an elaborate tribute to the business career of the long-established house of Brown & Ives, Mr. Anthony spoke of them as "rich without ostentation, powerful without arrogance, and enjoying a political influence which they use for what they deem the public good, and not for their own personal ambition. Their prosperity is not based upon the ruin of their neighbors." He then went on to remark :

But individuals are not sufficient to gratify the vengeance of my colleague. He assails the whole State, by charging the First Regiment with pusillanimity and Burnside with incompetency, if not with cowardice. Burnside incompetent ! What does Tennessee say to that ? What does Indiana say to that ? What does Ohio say to that ? What does North Carolina say to that ? I know what Rhode Island will say to it. The First Regiment fills one of the proudest chapters in the history of Rhode Island. Springing to arms at the sound of the first gun on Sumter, it was composed of some of the finest young men in the State. They came from all classes and conditions of our people. The millionaire stood shoulder to shoulder with the mechanic, the student with the plow-boy, each respecting the other, all animated by a common purpose and

burning with a common patriotism. And though the unfortunate field of Bull Run was lost, it was lost by lack of discipline and military experience, not by lack of valor on the part of the Rhode Island troops or of the gallant soldier who led them. I shall not detain the Senate with any defense of them or of their leader. It is not necessary here; at home I would as soon attempt to prove the multiplication table. He who has assailed them is the one who needs defence.

A few days afterwards, Senator Nye, returning to Washington, read the remarks made by Governor Sprague in his absence, and replied to them with humorous eloquence. He caused to be read, by the secretary, the letter from Governor Sprague, transmitting the resolution of thanks to General Burnside and to his command, and said:

This letter is not only a letter of approbation, but a subsequent one, which I also have, conveyed to the warrior upon the distant field an emblem of his profession, purchased by the honorable Senator himself by the authority of the Legislature of Rhode Island, which he commissioned a brave soldier to deliver upon the field of battle. It was a sword to Burnside, and never was fitter emblem sent. His history is written in blood on every battle-field of the Potomac; and Knoxville will forever attest to the bravery of Burnside. He hurled back and kept in abeyance at least three times his number headed by Longstreet, until was heard the tread of coming thousands to his relief, and Knoxville was saved. Sir, whatever field he attempted to save was saved, if it was in the power of bravery and endurance to save it. Tell not, then, that he was unfortunate at Bull Run. He was not in command. The commander was another honored name who, by that cloud, lost much of the preëminence to which he was entitled as a military man of this Nation; I refer to General McDowell, for he is second to none in his acquirements and skill in the art of war. He was unfortunate in that battle that Almighty God foreordained we should be unfortunate in. Burnside, too, was unfortunate at Fredericksburg. The proudest general of this Nation, and one from whose diadem even the Senator from Rhode Island would not dare attempt to pluck one jewel, was unfortunate at Vicksburg; but who doubted the bravery, who doubted the patriotism, who doubted the skill of the indomitable and fiery Sherman? He was overmatched. And at Fredericksburg, when Burnside hurled his columns against those deadly walls, the very air was redolent with the shouts of his soldiers.

Braver men never lived and never died; and never were men more gallantly led. They were outnumbered; the enemy had their intrenchments; and the crushing bones and the gaping wounds and the bloody fields on that day told the story of their bravery. I was shocked, therefore, when I heard the attempt, in these after years, to pluck a laurel from the brow of a Burnside.

Senator Chandler, "Honest old Zach.," also bore testimony to the behavior of General Burnside as an "honorable, modest, high-toned, loyal, brave soldier." Said he :

It was my fortune three times, as a member of the Committee on the Conduct of the War, to investigate three several battles in which General Burnside fought; one in which he had supreme command, and two others in which he had a subordinate command. I can also state that General Burnside was several times before the Committee on the Conduct of the War as a witness, and I but express the opinion of every member of that committee when I say that a braver, truer, or more patriotic man than General Burnside never drew a sword. This has been the testimony of every officer I have heard allude to General Burnside, from the highest in command in the army down to the lowest who served under him. I desire to state further, that in his army and under his command, I believe, from and after he became a major-general, he had Michigan troops always, and they all bear the self-same testimony.

Senator Abbott, of North Carolina, said that he was greatly pained when a Senator, availing himself of his privileges, had assailed the military character of Rhode Island's troops, and that of Rhode Island's greatest officer. In various service, General Burnside had maintained as much, if not more than any other man, the character of a patriotic, unselfish, gallant, judicial, and modest soldier. He then went on to say that :

Upon his character the government has set its seal, for from his successful campaign in North Carolina, where he held a territory greater than that of his own state, he was transferred to Kentucky and Tennessee, and from Kentucky to the higher command of the Army of the

Potomac. Resigning that, he joined in 1864, at the head of a corps forty-five thousand strong, that great army which first struck the enemy at the Wilderness, and ultimately encircled Petersburg; and finally, he entered Richmond on the extreme right of Grant's line. With all this, thus briefly recounted, the country is familiar in detail. His name is not only familiar in New England, but in the South, and beyond the Alleghanies, where his columns pushed the enemy, and where his kindness to the people softened the rigors of war. He did not retire from the service after the first disastrous battle, nor is he now arraigning his old command at Bull Run for cowardice; but he stood through, with unsheathed sabre, until the last gun was fired, and until the flag again waved undisputed. Now, the governor of a state, he is not filling the air with incoherent ravings over evils which are imaginary, but stands among his people in the quiet dignity of a christian citizen. I do not know that he parades his private business in state papers. Perhaps he may not employ ten thousand men, nor scheme to build up his own business upon the ruin of his neighbors', but we know that the hearts of ten times ten thousand men beat kindly and gratefully toward him. Nature has not been niggardly to him, but she has been generous, endowing him with a full body and a great heart and a comprehensive brain, so that if he indeed were one of those nine days' heroes whose fame rests upon a single exploit, he would not lose his small reputation by an undue exhibition of imbecility.

Senator Morton, one of Lincoln's "War Governors," bore the following testimony to General Burnside, with whom he had enjoyed a life-acquaintance :

Mr. President: My early association with General Burnside is sufficient apology for speaking a few words. We were born within a few miles of each other, in the State of Indiana, and for years lived in the same town and were boyish friends and companions. "The boy was father to the man." As a boy he was distinguished for courage and kindness, and was beloved by all his boyish companions. From our town he went to West Point, and I followed his career from West Point into the army with interest, and affection. From the battle of Bull Run, from his first great triumph at Roanoke to his crowning victory at Knoxville, his career was distinguished by courage, skill, patriotism, and humanity. The bravest act, however, of his life was after the battle of Fredericksburg. When the press of the country was busy in showing that General Burnside was not responsible for that disaster, was busy in laying the blame upon others and showing that there had been sad blundering, if not treason, in his camp, he said to the committee and to the world, "The responsi-

bility is mine." When he spoke those words the Nation forgot the disaster, and he was at once restored to the national heart and the national confidence. Sir, the State of Indiana takes pride in General Burnside, and high upon the national roll of honor his name is inscribed, to be read with pleasure, affection, and admiration by all coming generations.

Nearly five thousand citizens of the State of Rhode Island signed a letter addressed to General Burnside, in which they denounced the remarks of Senator Sprague as having wantonly and maliciously assailed the officers and soldiers of Rhode Island before the whole country. "We feel," said the writers, "that a great wrong has been done to you and to the brave men, both the living and the dead, who served with you in the army of the Republic; and also that the military honor of Rhode Island has been deeply wounded, and the fair fame of the State foully traduced in the National Senate at Washington by one who was bound to cherish and protect them. For the purpose, therefore, of rebuking these atrocious calumnies, and of renewing both to you and to those who served with you the expression of our undiminished gratitude, confidence, and respect, we hereby invite you to name a day, at your own convenience, on which you will meet us and others of your fellow-citizens, at a public reception in the city of Providence.

General Burnside replied to this letter, and after declining the invitation, he went on to show that the attack of Mr. Sprague on the First Regiment was "unprovoked, unjustifiable, and untruthful." "With reference to the personal charges against me, I have nothing to say. My conduct is well known to my comrades and to the people; my character and reputation must rest upon their testimony, and not on any statement of mine." "What has induced Mr. Sprague to make this outrageous attack upon me and

my regiment I do not know. To you, my fellow-citizens and comrades, I shall ever be grateful for this renewed expression of friendship and support. It adds one more to the many obligations due from me for your numerous acts of kindness."

The Ninth Army Corps had its first annual reunion at Rocky Point on the 7th of July, 1869. It was largely attended, and it concluded with a banquet, at which General Burnside presided. He declined, however, making a speech. Those present, he said, all knew how glad he was to see them, and it would be folly for him to talk to them of the Ninth Corps and the Burnside Expedition. They were so well known to every man within the sound of his voice that he would not attempt to speak of them. He cordially thanked them for the cordial manner in which they received him, and begged to be excused.

Meanwhile contractors had been at work constructing the Cairo and Vincennes Railroad, and up to the 1st of July, 1869, work amounting to upwards of half a million dollars had been done. To this point General Burnside had carried on the construction by the sale of bonds and his individual credit, but just when he had strained his credit to its utmost point, the railroad companies refused to execute the contract agreed upon, and work was temporarily suspended. In the following November, General Burnside had so arranged his business that he was able to devote himself to the affairs of this road, and went to London, where he hoped to negotiate a sufficient amount of bonds to finish it.



CHAPTER XXVIII.

UNSUCCESSFUL VISIT TO LONDON — GOES TO PARIS TO WITNESS THE SIEGE OF THAT CITY — IS MADE PRISONER AT A SAXON OUT-POST — DR. RUSSELL'S ACCOUNT OF VERSAILLES AND THE GERMAN LEADERS — FONDNESS OF BISMARCK FOR BURNSIDE — VISITS PARIS UNDER A FLAG OF TRUCE — THE BESIEGED CITY — SECOND VISIT — RETURN TO LONDON.

GENERAL BURNSIDE was in London, negotiating for the sale of the bonds of the Covington and Vincennes Railroad, when the declaration of war between France and Germany deranged the English money market, and made it impossible to place American securities. General Burnside was cordially received by the leading statesmen and soldiers of Great Britain. He was made an honorary member of several of the London clubs, and was not only invited to the fashionable city entertainments, but to the country houses, so justly famed as "the rural homes of England." As the German army defeated the French and advanced on Paris, General Burnside felt a strong desire to witness the hostilities between these two great powers, and finally left for the headquarters of the

King of Prussia, at Versailles. Mr. Alexander Forbes, celebrated as a war correspondent and as a lecturer, has kindly furnished for this work the following account of General Burnside's first introduction to the German Army before Paris :

General Burnside and Brigadier-General Duff, U. S. V., who represented the New York *Herald* (and who, by the way, was a brother of the late Andrew Halliday, the dramatic author), were struggling their way from Lagny, the interior terminus of the *Chemin de fer de l'Est*, about twenty miles east of Paris, toward the front. The Saxon Army Corps (Twelfth German Army) occupied that section of the environment rising due east of Paris, from about *Le Blanc Mesnil* south to *Villiers le Bel*. The two Americans, forging straight to their own front as if they had been on the prairie, struck from the rear the covering *picquets* of the Saxon corps. They had no "*laissez passer*" of a kind to be accepted as satisfactory; they could speak no German; they were eminently suspicious-looking characters, in flannel shirts, flap hats, and mud galore. So they were summarily apprehended. But the Saxons are a courteous people, and an officer sent them on to the headquarters, in *Le Vert Gallant*, of Prince George of Saxony, who commanded the Saxon corps. They looked not a little mean, as, travel-stained and embarrassed, they were brought into the drawing room of the Prince's chateau, just as the suite and staff had gathered for dinner. But Prince George, a man of the world, at once recognized the situation; had seats prepared for them, one on either side of himself; gave them quarters for the night, and duly forwarded them next day to Versailles. Bismarck, from the first, conceived a curious, magnetic regard for Burnside. He was always trying to be with him, and would smoke and gossip with him by the hour. There was some affinity in the straightforward, rugged bluntness of the two men, apparently. If Burnside cared he could have thrown some curious sidelights on the story of the motives and springs of that Franco-German war, derived from Bismarck's free speaking. I do believe that Generals Burnside and Sheridan had more of Bismarck's confidence — almost brutally frank and cynical as it was — than any other persons who were spectators of the momentous melo-drama.

Dr. Russell (of Bull Run fame), in a letter to the London *Times*, written soon after General Burnside's arrival at Versailles, gives the following graphic picture of

the Prussian headquarters where General Burnside met General Sheridan, General Hazen, and General Forsyth :

The foliage is now in its greatest beauty, but the slightest touch of the invisible fingers of the wind scatters the leaves in showers, and thins the screen of rich russet, orange, red, and brown which yet hides the trunks and branches of the forest trees. There was a living margin to the two parterres, clear of people, to whom the fish were an attraction, and the *Allée de l'Orangerie* and the *Allée des Trois Fontaines* were filled with saunterers. Another mass, tolerably compact, grew up along the front of the terrace, enjoying the spectacle of their fellows below, and looking out on the *Tapis Vert* of the Grand Canal, in placid enjoyment of a scene not often to be met with amid the realities of war. These became animated and excited, particularly the French, when some great people arrived, just dropping in without formality or attendance—no aides, or officers of ordnance, or orderlies—and walked about, or stood chatting with their friends. "Is that really Von Moltke?" "Where?" "You see that tall, thin man, without any mustache or whiskers, his hands behind his back—the officer with the grayish hair, very short, and a face cut with many fine lines, his head slightly stooped, the eyebrows pronounced, and the eyes deep set? There is the man whom the junkers of Berlin called '*the old schoolmaster*.' What a lesson he has taught Austrians and French!" "Is that the strategist who caught Benedek in a vise at Königgrätz, mouse-trapped Bazaine at Metz, and netted an emperor, a marshal of France, and 150,000 men at Sedan, and who is now angling for such an enormous prize as the capital of France?" "He looks very grave." "He is always so. But there, you see, striding through the crowd, is a very different-looking person." "Yes! who is that frank, smiling major of dragoons? He comes this way—the officer in the white cap and yellow band, dark blue or nearly black double-breasted frock-coat with yellow collar, taller than the tall officers around him?" "That is Count Bismarck!" There is a stir wherever he goes—caps touched and hats raised. He makes straight for a little knot of Americans—General Burnside in plain clothes, General Sheridan, General Hazen, and General Forsyth in uniform, but without swords. You hear his laugh above the murmurs of the crowd and the wave of sound in which his name, "Bismarck," is borne. How heartily he shakes hands with them, buoyant and free, elated as some officer might be who had just won promotion on a battle-field. All the world knows the soulless likeness, out of which even photography has failed, however, to take all expression; but one must have actual experience of the peculiar vivacity, or rather penetration, of his glance, as it is emitted from under those

tremendous shaggy eyebrows, to measure the power of his face — the one grand, overwhelming force of which is, to my mind, intrepidity — an immense, audacious courage, physical and mental, and a will before which every obstacle must yield or be turned.

Count Bismarck invited General Burnside to his quarters, which were in a house in one of the darkest streets of dismal Versailles. In the ante-rooms were a dozen clerks writing or filing papers. The room in which Count Bismarck received his visitors was full of tobacco-smoke, and uncomfortably warm. Two candles, stuck into bottles, were standing on the mantel-piece. In the middle of the room was a rickety table on which were placed a jug of beer, several bottles of wine, and some silver tankards. Count Bismarck spoke very freely of public affairs. "It is merely the self-love of the Parisians," said he, "which prevents them from surrendering. We will wait, if necessary. We will enter Paris. The king has quite made up his mind, although he wants to spare the Parisians as much as possible, not to sign peace except at the Tuileries. Whatever may be our conditions of peace, France is too vain, however, to forgive us for her defeats. She would in any case make war against us as soon as she was strong enough. Our policy, in the interests both of Germany and of all Europe, must therefore be, to diminish the territory of France as much as possible, so as to make her unable, for a long time, to disturb the general peace. As to the proposed armistice of Alsace and Lorraine, that is the will of the king, which is enough. The French, accustomed to be the playthings of adventurers, cannot understand our respect for a monarchy. In Prussia there is no will but that of the king. I am only the instrument of his political will, as the generals are the instruments of his military will. When His Majesty expresses a wish it

is my duty to propose the means of realizing it, and it is my glory sometimes to succeed in this task. At this moment, however, my actions are absolutely subordinate to those of the military leaders, who are not always of my opinion."

Count Bismarck (wrote Dr. Russell to the *London Times*) likes Burnside. Indeed, there are few persons of any nation who will not be touched by the cordial nature and uprightness of the man, by his solid good sense and kindness of nature, and by his clearness of perception, unmarred by selfishness, or any affectation of statesmanship, which is perhaps the highest diplomacy. Count Bismarck has a *penchant* for Americans of a certain high stamp. He says, "I like self-made men. It is the best sort of manufacture in our race."

The result of these interviews was a visit by General Burnside to Paris, accompanied by Paul Forbes, Esq. On the 2d of October, 1870, they were driven in an open carriage, accompanied by a trumpeter and a flag of truce, from the French outpost, at Sevres, to the bank of the Seine. After a "parley" they were taken across in a boat to the other side of the river, where they were met by some French officers. The officer in charge of the post there would not take the responsibility of permitting General Burnside to enter the city, and sent a dispatch to the governor of Paris, asking for instructions. After a detention of an hour or two, the answer came that they might proceed. They were blindfolded and accompanied by an officer waving a white flag, while on one side rode a mounted trumpeter, blowing lustily from time to time. In this way they advanced to Long Champs (about five miles from Paris), where they were stopped in an unpleasant manner, eight shots being fired at them in rapid succession. Their trumpeter sounded his trumpet, and their officer

waved his flag. Mr. Forbes, who had seen all sorts of things, "from China to Peru," as the poet says, declared that the next fifteen minutes were very solemn, as they waited in a death-like stillness for the answering trumpet. At last it sounded, and then a French officer came out of the entrenchments and escorted them into Paris. No news had been received in that great city from without for a whole fortnight. Everybody and anybody flocked around them, and they were escorted to quarters in the villa of Baron Rothschild, situated in the suburbs.

After twelve o'clock that night a carriage arrived from General Trochu to take them to see him, but General Burnside had gone to bed, and they did not set out until six o'clock the next morning, when they were driven to the Louvre, where the general had his quarters. They then went to see Mr. Washburne, the Minister of the United States, who accompanied them to the Bureau of Foreign Affairs, where General Burnside had an interview with Monsieur Jules Favre. The general informally proposed an armistice for the purpose of enabling the French people to elect a constituent assembly. Prussia evidently wanted a more substantial power to treat with than a provisional government, which then ruled Paris. Monsieur Favre thought well of the proposition, and it was evident that he did not wish the provisional government to take the responsibility of making a treaty, but desired that any treaty negotiated should emanate directly from the French people, acting through a constituent assembly. Mr. Washburne (who had bravely remained at his post) requested General Burnside to obtain from Count Bismarck permission for a number of American citizens to pass out of Paris. Among those desirous of going away were many who, cut off from their communication with

home, were without funds, and had no means whatever of leaving, their condition having become deplorable in the extreme.

The following day General Burnside and Mr. Forbes returned as they came, and while they were waiting on the French side of the Seine for some necessary preliminaries, the incident occurred which has been magnified into a deliberate firing on his trumpeter and flag of truce. The French troops were at dinner within a crenelated wall close to the river, when a random shot from the Prussian outposts was heard, and a ball struck the wall so close to the party that Colonel Forbes went out and picked it up. The French rushed to their arms, exclaiming, "They have fired on us!" and declared they heard balls among the trees above, but General Burnside was sure it was a mistake. As they were going over, the French officer on duty called from the end of the broken arch of the bridge to Captain Von Bissing, a most excellent officer and perfect gentleman, who was sent by the Crown Prince to receive General Burnside, that he would have a shot, as his men had been fired upon, and as they were waiting for the carriage, a ball whistled by, very close to the trumpeter.

After having several interviews with Count Bismarck, General Burnside, accompanied by Mr. Forbes, again visited the "beleaguered city." He was this time authorized to suggest to Monsieur Jules Favre that he would yield the question of the forts, and would grant an absolute armistice of forty-eight hours for holding an election, and give every facility for a fair election, for the distribution of tickets and circulars for the committee to go out of Paris, as well as for the departure of the members elected from the city of Paris, and to render passes wherever the conven-

tion should be held, etc. In addition, it was suggested that a sort of semi-armistice might be agreed upon, to extend over a sufficient time to permit the convention to be held—that is to say, that there should be no firing; but that the Prussians should be permitted to bring up their guns and provisions, and that everything in Paris should remain in *statu quo*.

General Burnside had an interview of an hour with Monsieur Jules Favre, who wished to consult his associates before giving a decisive answer. The next day there was a long interview between General Burnside, Mr. Forbes, Mr. Washburne, Monsieur Jules Favre, and General Trochu. The French were not disposed to enter into any negotiations looking to a peace, unless assured that Prussia did not desire to seize on Alsace and Lorraine. General Burnside could not, of course, give any such assurances.

While at Paris on this second visit, General Burnside was impressed with the appearance of the city, invested by an immense army, isolated from the rest of the world,—except when a mail was received under a flag of truce or sent away in a balloon,—with its outer and inner belt of fortifications, and at least 500,000 men under arms, burning with protracted enthusiasm, who camped in all its open spaces, exercised on its boulevards, lined its ramparts, crowded its gates, paraded its streets, and thronged its restaurants. The wreck of the empire had not been cleared away, and the provisional government, composed of men having the best intentions, was assailed by a crowd of vain, crotchety, envious radicals. There were no new fashion-plates, no new music, no new books, pictures, bronzes, or photographs, no new jokes, no new scandal, and no news, save what transpired within an area of some

thirty square miles, which was then the limit of the influence exercised by what Frenchmen vain-gloriously termed the capital of the world. The bills of fare at the principal restaurants exhibited a painful informality, for Paris was without fish and without game, hardly any poultry and very little meat, no rare vegetables, and neither cheese nor even butter. Europe no longer laid itself under contribution that Paris might dine sumptuously. The fine equipages, prancing horses, and liveried servants had disappeared with their masters and mistresses; lawyers and journalists, who were at the head of public affairs, with shop-keepers, working-men, the militia, and porters, were the only classes that appeared to be left in Paris. Although General Burnside was unsuccessful in bringing about negotiations for peace, he was able to obtain from Count Bismarck permission for upwards of fifty Americans to leave Paris.

On the 14th of October, General Burnside, accompanied by General Sheridan and Dr. Forbes, left Versailles for London. He was there an object of great curiosity, as having been entrusted by the two great contending nations with negotiations that required all the qualities of the diplomat and the statesman.

His personal character, his good sense, and his complete neutrality had secured him great advantages on both sides. True to his word, he was not willing to converse about what he had seen in Paris. He even declined an invitation to breakfast from the Prince of Wales, fearing that questions might be asked him concerning what he had seen when admitted into Paris under a flag of truce, that he could not honorably answer. It is much to be regretted that he had not, for the benefit of future historians, placed on record his reminiscences of these eventful visits to Paris.

His allusions in conversing, after a few years had passed, on what he saw and heard, were always listened to with marked attention, and he had hopes at one time that he should be able to welcome Count Bismarck to the United States.





CHAPTER XXIX.

THE ARMY REUNIONS FOR 1873—BURNSIDE BROUGHT FORWARD
AS A CANDIDATE FOR THE UNITED STATES SENATE—UNSUCCESSFUL
RALLOTING—VISIT TO KNOXVILLE—ADDRESSES IN
TENNESSEE—ELECTED UNITED STATES SENATOR.

THE army reunions for 1873 were held at New Haven, the Society of the Ninth Army Corps being the only one of the corps organizations which had an oration and a banquet. The Rev. Augustus Woodbury delivered the oration, which was able and eloquent, and General Burnside presided over the banquet, which was graced by many prominent citizens of Connecticut. General Charles Devens, Jr., was elected commander-in-chief of the Grand Army of the Republic, who presented a finely-engrossed and elegantly-framed testimonial to General Burnside, as a mark of the high esteem entertained for him as a comrade, and in appreciation of his able, faithful, and zealous administration for two years of the responsible duties of commander-in-chief, illustrating, as a man and an officer, the cardinal principles of our order—Fraternity, Charity, and Loyalty.

Among the pleasant incidents of the New Haven reunion was the greeting which General Burnside received from one of his old command, who approached him, and

giving him a military salute, said, "God bless you, General Burnside, I am glad to see you; you don't probably know me, but to you I owe my right arm. I was in the Fifty-seventh Massachusetts Regiment, and in your command. I was wounded in both arms at Fredericksburg, in the right one very badly, and but for your personal kindness to me I should have lost it. I haven't seen you since that time, but I have always wanted to see you, and thank you, for I honestly believe that but for your kindness, I should now have but one arm." It was only the kind greeting of one man, but it shows the real feelings of the men who served under General Burnside, and the esteem they have for him, more, perhaps, than the more noisy cheers which greeted him at all points.

In the spring of 1874 the friends of General Burnside in Rhode Island presented his name as a candidate for United States Senator, to succeed Governor Sprague. It was urged that he possessed to a remarkable degree the confidence of the people of Rhode Island,—while his unblemished private character, his spotless honor, his winning address, his gallantry in action, his familiarity with the affairs of the State, and his knowledge of the resources of the country, all combined to make him especially well qualified for the position.

When the General Assembly commenced balloting, it was evident that General Burnside had the largest number of Republican votes, but not a majority. His opposing candidate in the Republican ranks was Nathan F. Dixon, a lawyer, whose father had represented Rhode Island in the United States Senate, and who had himself been a member of the Federal House of Representatives. It soon became evident, however, that General Burnside had reached his highest vote, and that a break among his sup-

porters would result in his being dropped. The General Assembly consequently adjourned until January.

The citizens of Knoxville, Tenn., had invited General Burnside to be present at the decoration of the Federal soldiers' graves on the 30th of May, and to deliver an address. He declined this invitation, but agreed to visit Knoxville on the 4th of July and speak. The Knoxville Typographical Union, composed only of practical printers, solicited the coöperation of the people of all classes. No sooner did the fact become generally known that General Burnside would be in the city on that day, than a general enthusiasm prevailed, and the citizens of all parties, ex-Federal and ex-rebel soldiers, Democratic and Republican, all seemed to partake of this enthusiasm, and signified their intention of giving General Burnside such a reception as no other general had ever before received in East Tennessee. The morning papers heralded the fact to the world in double-leaded editorials, while large posters were printed and distributed throughout East Tennessee. During the entire following week General Burnside was all the talk, and many an ex-rebel could be heard speaking of a kindness shown him by the general while in command of this post during the war, while the Union ex-soldiers loved him as a father.

General Burnside arrived at Knoxville on the evening of July 3, and was escorted to the residence of the Hon. Perez Dickinson, where he passed the night. On the morning of the "Fourth" a procession was formed, which escorted General Burnside in a barouche drawn by four white horses. The city was crowded, and the procession marched through crowds to the grounds of the Female Institute, where a formal address of welcome was delivered by the Hon. H. O. Temple.

"It affords me very great pleasure," said General Burnside in reply, "to meet so many of my old personal friends, and so many of the citizens of East Tennessee, upon this occasion. At Greenville I was met by a large number of people, and welcomed by my old friend, ex-President Johnson, to whom I shall always be thankful for the aid he gave me in getting my army into East Tennessee. Whatever differences we may now have with him politically, we must all give him credit for his patriotic duty during the war. I have always admired the people of East Tennessee. I read early in the war of the conflict going on here, and when I was sent to command the Department of the Ohio, I proceeded at once to organize an army to come to your relief. I came here at the head of the army, to restore order and good government. I am glad that you feel so kindly to me for the way I exercised that authority. I am glad to know that in this demonstration to-day men of both sides are united. It shows that a good feeling exists here. I have always believed that there were men just as honest and conscientious in the South as the North, and I always feel kindly to those who gallantly and honestly discharged what they thought was their duty. But when I say this, I do not wish to be understood as saying that the Rebellion was right, or that the government has not the right to suppress it wherever it exists."

Later in the day, General Burnside addressed the Knoxville Typographical Union, in a grove near the city. "It is now eleven years ago," said he, "that I crossed one of the great chains of mountains by which you are surrounded. Then I was at the head of an armed host, not for invasion, but for the protection of your people. A long time before I was ordered to a command in the West, my

heart had been moved by the many grand examples of their patriotism, and as soon as I assumed command of the Department of the Ohio, arrangements were at once inaugurated for a march into East Tennessee. At my headquarters in Cincinnati, the refugees from this section were constant and welcome visitors. They were of infinite service to the government, not only as advisers, scouts, and guides, but as disciplined, gallant soldiers, making up, as they did, some of the finest regiments in the army. Their devotion to the cause, and their thorough coöperation with me in all my work in this department, have endeared them to me and their other comrades beyond measure. I am glad to meet so many of them here to-day. The survivors of the gallant Old Ninth and Twenty-third army corps join me in friendly greetings to them. Combined, they formed a command of which any general might be proud.

“I will not attempt a detailed account of their services here; they are as fresh in your memories as in mine. We have but to recall Cumberland Gap, Blue Spring, Campbell Station, and Knoxville, to have their services vividly before us. But on an occasion like this, it is not meet to dwell upon the details of these conflicts. We should rather draw the curtain over them. Let us unite as brother freemen, in thanking God that these conflicts are over; that our country is again at peace; and although some of the saddening effects of the war are still apparent, let us hope and believe they are rapidly passing away, and that the coming generations will only remember it as a conflict between their forefathers, who were brothers, and in which equal gallantry and devotion to the cause for which they were fighting were shown by both sides. By this I do not mean that we must forget the glorious exploits on either side, nor erase from our flags the names

of the engagements into which they were carried to victory or defeat ; neither do I mean to say that we must look upon the cause of the South as a just one. Far be it from me to do anything to diminish the importance of the lesson taught to us and the whole civilized world, that the government of the United States has the right and the power to put down rebellion ; but I do mean to say that the Southern soldiers, as a mass, fought with a courage and devotion to what they thought was right, and, the contest over, we should be willing to grant this."

General Burnside went on to say : " I have prepared no elaborate address to you. You have here more gifted speakers than I, to talk to you of your duties, and congratulate you on your successes. Your art requires of you, in order to perform your duties properly, great integrity, industry, skill, and education. Your duties not only require of you skill in your calling, but preparation, as far as possible, to fill any position in the press which may devolve upon you. No good printer fails to aspire to promotion in his calling, and he should strive to qualify himself for a higher position. Great duties devolve upon the press. It holds within its control a wonderful engine of power ; more powerful it is than that held by any class or profession, and it should endeavor to wield it with discretion, boldness, truthfulness, and fairness. It should battle against wrong in all its phases, whether it be oppression, usurpation, monopoly, bribery, corruption, unfair legislation, or dishonesty of any kind. It should fight for truth, civil and religious liberty, honesty in all the walks of public and private life, and protection to all the oppressed and down-trodden of the world. You will grant me that some agents of the press do not always use their power in accordance with the above principles. But you should

all resolve to be governed by them. There is no truer saying than that 'fair play is a jewel.' With the special objects of your Union I am not fully conversant, but take it that you are joined together for purposes of protection, friendly association, mutual improvement, and charitable objects. So long as you follow these purposes, great good will result from your work ; but no one knows better than you, that often these unions fall under the control of bad men, who use their power to their own advantage and to the detriment of the members generally. There is another thing that I have sometimes thought an objection to them. Many of the members, from their connection with them, become fastened to the position they occupy, and do not seek advancement, but continue all their lives the tools of designing leaders."

Said General Burnside, in conclusion : " This has been to me a most glorious day. It has given me the opportunity of renewing many old and valued acquaintances, and receiving from them many kindly greetings and hospitalities. I was met at the railway-station, last night, by your distinguished fellow-citizen, Mr. Dickinson, the same good friend who first met me when I entered Knoxville eleven years ago, and was taken by him to the same hospitable mansion he welcomed me to then. This morning, as I was awakened from my slumbers by the sound of artillery, I almost fancied myself again in the midst of the conflicts of war ; but upon looking out upon your grand mountains and noble river, and witnessing the peaceful scenes before me, I realized that these were not sounds of discord and conflict, which make anxious hearts, but were sounds of welcome which made my heart glad. God grant that the same peace which exists in all East Tennessee this bright and glorious day may continue for ages, and

that we and future generations may continue to celebrate this glorious anniversary with the same happiness and loyalty that have characterized our meeting to-day."

When the General Assembly of Rhode Island met again, in January, 1875, the dead-lock was renewed, but the friends of General Burnside presented an unbroken front. "He never goes back on his friends," said one of his enthusiastic admirers, "and his friends won't do so mean a thing as go back on him." At last, on the twenty-eighth ballot, Mr. Dixon withdrew his name, and his friends voted for General Burnside, securing his election by 100 majority. No sooner was the result declared, than a small cannon in the State House yard roared forth its brazen congratulations, and was fired until it had completed a major-general's salute. Meanwhile General Burnside had been sent for, and on being introduced to the General Assembly, he spoke as follows:

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Grand Committee: I cannot find words to express the deep satisfaction which I feel at this mark of your confidence. Before the action of this morning I felt that I owed to the people of Rhode Island, whom you represent, a debt of gratitude which I could never pay, and by this action I feel placed under renewed obligations to them and to you. I recognize the fact that there is among you a marked difference of opinion as to the course which has been taken here this morning. It will be my endeavor in the future, as well in my official capacity as in personal decorum, to cause my friends to be glad of the support they have given me, and my enemies,—no, I will not say enemies, for I never thought I had an enemy among you, and if I have, I hope no one will ever tell me of it,—but my political opponents,—to cause them to have no regret at seeing me in the

Senate Chamber. My object shall be to look first at the interests of Rhode Island, if these interests are consonant with the Constitution and the laws. My first duty is to my country ; my second to my constituents in Rhode Island. When I cannot conscientiously represent their interests, and if at any time the differences between them and me cannot be reconciled, my commission will be returned to this body who gave it to me.

“I may be allowed to express my deep pride and gratitude to my friends for their steadfast support, and yet I know I could not have been elected this morning without the accessions of those who have voted for other candidates. I cannot close without thanking them for the kindly manner in which they have ever met me, and spoken of me in my absence, so far as I know.

“I cannot say I am surprised by the result this morning, for I thought yesterday this would be the result ; but I have not allowed myself to prepare any connected remarks. I can only say that I shall give to the duties to which you have called me my best efforts, and that I shall never take my seat in the Senate without being prepared for whatever subject may come up, so far as my abilities and personal attention may enable me to prepare myself.

“It is now late in the day, gentlemen, but I may say that to-morrow afternoon, from one till five o’clock, I shall be at my home, No. 312 Benefit Street, where I shall be gratified to receive you all, together with the officers of the State, judges of the courts, and such other gentlemen as I may invite to be present. Again I thank you, gentlemen, and wish you good-morning.”



CHAPTER XXX.

"EDGHILL FARM"—THE HOUSE AND FURNITURE—FARM STOCK—
RURAL PURSUITS—KINDNESS TO ANIMALS—VISITS FROM VET-
ERANS—HOSPITALITIES—PERSONAL POPULARITY—TRAITS OF
CHARACTER.

AFTER his election to the United States Senate, General Burnside appeared to take a greater interest than ever before in the cultivation of the soil. His estate near Bristol he named "Edghill Farm," after his father, Edghill Burnside, and his great-grandfather, James Edghill. It was neither large in area nor very valuable, but he became as devotedly attached to it as did the "Iron Duke" of Wellington to the large and valuable estate of "Stathfieldsaye," presented to him by a grateful country. Great soldiers have invariably been good farmers, as was exemplified by Washington at "Mount Vernon," Jackson at the "Hermitage," and Zachary Taylor at his sugar-plantation at Pascagoula. The same system, skill, management of men, and determined will which insures the commander of an army success, enables him in later years to subdue a stubborn soil, and to make the wilderness "blossom like the rose."

"Edghill Farm" was located about two miles from Bris-

tol, on a well-graded road, which afforded a delightful drive in pleasant weather. Entering the estate through the gate, nothing but the roof of the house could be seen, as the ground on which it stands is somewhat lower than the road. The house was somewhat unique in shape, having grown, by gradual additions, from a small cottage into a commodious structure. The principal portion, surrounded on three sides by glass windows, outside of which was a covered porch, reminded one of the rear cabin of a large steamer. On the other side was a large, old-fashioned fire-place, with brass andirons and a high mantel-shelf, over which was a stag's head with spreading antlers. To describe the interior, with its many conveniences, would be a difficult task. There were airy chambers above, the general's own rooms below, comfortable quarters for the servants, wide porches, bath-rooms, a well-ventilated kitchen, and a host of conveniences which defied the suggestion of more possibilities for comfort. Adjoining the house and connected with it was a carriage-house, the stable, the poultry-house and yard, the barns, and the barn-yard. The house and farm buildings were well supplied with water brought from a well on an adjacent hill. Every one of the different matters about the farm buildings were placed where they were required. There was "a place for everything," and the general insisted on having everything kept "in its place."

The chief charm of "Edghill" was its natural beauty, without any attempt at artificial ornament. Clumps of shade-trees were dispersed here and there on the green-sward. There was a garden, with its fruit-trees and grape-vines, and the ground gently descended from the house to the shore of Mount Hope Bay. The view on this sheet of water is ever beautiful and never tiring. In the distance

was Mount Hope, where the renowned King Philip lived in state and was slain, with the adjacent city of Fall River, from which rise tall chimneys crested with smoke, showing that it is a city of industry. The bay itself affords a constantly changing panorama of steam and sailing vessels, pleasure yachts, and small craft. On either side are cultivated fields, orchards, and handsome country residences, or neat cottages. One can never be fatigued with the contemplation of this beautiful and interesting view.

In the large room of the house was a library of military books, history, the English poets, theology, and natural history. A vote of thanks presented to him by the Grand Army of the Republic, after his service as commander-in-chief, adorned the wall; and there was also an elegantly-framed "military escutcheon," on which were blazoned his services, and the various commissions which he had received. When he first took possession of "Edg-hill," it was little better than a rocky pasture; but by the application of science to practical experience; by under-draining, the use of fertilizers, and much hard work, he was able to cut three tons of English hay to the acre in his meadow, and to gather sixteen hundred bushels of corn from his corn-field of twelve acres. The raising of cattle was his delight, and it was a rare treat to walk with him through the spacious yards adjoining his barns, or over his grazing fields, and to have him point out the good points of his Alderney herd, which were not surpassed in that section of the country. His hogs were a mixture of the native and Suffolk, having in a remarkable degree the good qualities of both. The fowl were Brahmas and Leg-horns, without any of the hideous varieties introduced during the prevalence of the hen fever. Then there were rare varieties of geese, ducks, and turkeys to almost unlimited extent.

General Burnside was never happier than when among his men, directing agricultural operations. He would be with them all day, although it might be necessary to devote a good portion of the following night to his correspon-



"EDGHILL," RESIDENCE OF GENERAL BURNSIDE, BRISTOL, R. I.

dence, which he kept up, even though it required late hours to do so. The rural sounds and the grand aspects of nature at "Edghill Farm" ministered to the delight of General Burnside's acute sensibilities, as we are told that Marshfield did to those of Mr. Webster. The smell of new-mown hay and of the freshly-turned furrows of spring was cordial to his spirit; the whetting of the mower's scythe and the beat of the thresher's flail were music to his soul.

The rich verdure of clover, the waving of the golden grain, the shriek of the water-fowl on the bay, and the softer sound of the land birds,—all the varying aspects of sky and field and water, furnished him with a distinct and

peculiar enjoyment. •The shrinking quail whistled in his garden shrubbery, and fed unscared in his carriage-way. General Burnside delivered several speeches at agricultural gatherings, which were listened to with the more interest because they were conservative and practical. He believed that the government should establish agricultural schools and model farms everywhere, that the farmer might be educated for his vocation. In law, medicine, theology, and the army, schools were established for the education of those who were to follow their respective pursuits. General Burnside thought it equally important that schools should be established for those who pursue the more honorable education of tilling the soil. Physical education should go hand in hand with mental, and moral education with both. These schools, he thought, should be conducted so as to educate the whole man, morally, mentally, and physically. Certain hours should be allotted each day for the students to follow rural pursuits, and they should be of such a nature as to benefit both the mind and the body, for the great object of education should be to develop a strong mind in a strong body. General Burnside believed that physical power is as essential as mental power.

General Burnside's horses and cattle knew his voice, and whinnied a welcome whenever he approached. His bob-tailed war charger, "Major," the gift of some unknown friend, lived to the age of thirty years, and long after his usefulness was over scarcely any one dared to mount him but his owner. But the general, being so much attached to him, saw that he was well housed and fed. At last, when the animal had become so old as to make life a burden to himself, his master was obliged to give directions that he should be killed; "but do not do it," said he, "until next winter, after I have gone to Washington."

Alas, he never went there, and after his lifeless remains had been removed from "Edghill Farm" to Providence, for interment, the faithful animal was led out and shot.

"Dick," General Burnside's favorite driving horse, was a noble animal, sure-footed and fast, but he would occasionally get his tail over the reins, and then run away. To prevent this the general had constructed over the shafts of one of his carriages, a wire structure, resembling a small summer-house. Beneath this "Dick" would thrash his tail about madly, yet he could not trouble the reins, which rested on the upper side of the trellis. A few weeks before the general's death, "Dick" ran away with him, and he was thrown from his carriage, receiving quite a jarring. Writing him congratulations on his not having been more seriously injured, a friend remarked: "Dick will be the death of you yet." The return mail brought one of his pleasant letters, in which he said that he was recovering from the upset, and added: "It was not Dick's fault." The general's generous nature always prompted him to assume blame and to exculpate either men or beasts from accusations.

The hospitalities at "Edghill" were unbounded. Visitors came there from all parts of the country, and those who had served under him were especially welcome. On several occasions, large organizations came to pass the day with their old commander, telling camp-stories, recalling incidents of hard-fought fields, and invariably ending with "The Ninth Corps," to the air so familiar to the graduates of West Point, one stanza running as follows:

" Then we'll drink to General Burnside, may his laurels ever grow;
And the other generals, Parke, Foster, and Reno.
Their well-laid plans, and well-fought fields cause every one to know,
They went to school in early life with Benny Havens, O!
With Benny Havens, O! etc."

Parties from the gay throngs at Newport, friends from Bristol and Providence, the farmers of the vicinage, and distinguished persons from different parts of the country were equally welcome at "Edghill Farm," and the genial host always seemed happy when a party of friends were congregated around his large table, or before his spacious fire-place. General Burnside is well described by his life-long friend, the Rev. Augustus Woodbury, as a good talker, who had clear and decided opinions to express on both the political and religious questions of the day that were agitating the public mind. He did not deal much in the petty gossip of the day; but there was always an under-current of seriousness, even when the conversation turned upon light and playful themes. It was evident that he had thought much upon the more important subjects of life. He gave up the use of tobacco when comparatively a young man, because he said he would not be a slave to any habit. For the last five or six years of his life he drank no wine nor liquors, and, in fact, had come to practice total abstinence from intoxicating drinks, although he did not deny the use of these to his guests. He would not make his own conscience the judge of what was right or proper to others.

Col. William Goddard, who served on General Burnside's staff during the war, and who was his cherished personal friend, said of him in a memoir written for the military order of the Loyal Legion: "His hospitality was proverbial. Under his roof presidents and heads of departments shared with his old companions in arms, and with troops of congenial friends, a hospitality at once simple and profuse, and all were welcomed with the same cordial and attractive grace. His manners were unaffected and genial, and his conversation was singularly attrac-

tive. He loved anecdote, and often indulged in light-hearted sportiveness, but pervading all his social intercourse, even with familiar friends, was the sense of the dignity of life, and the moral elevation of a character which could never confound the distinctions of right and wrong."

At Providence, and in the vicinity of "Edghill Farm," General Burnside was esteemed by all classes, and he enjoyed a personal popularity which it falls to the lot of but few men to have among their neighbors. His was a nature that was keenly alive to kindly acts. Those who were able to do him a favor were sure to have in return acts of kindness bestowed upon them with a lavish hand by him. He was a man of his word, frank and manly in his intercourse with all, never promising anything he was not able to perform, and never failing to perform that which he undertook. Liberal in his impulses and generous in his feelings, his kindly nature prompted him to a consistent performance of acts of kindness towards all with whom he had daily intercourse. In his contributions to the benevolent and charitable enterprises of the day, he was ever ready and liberal, and he was always ready to aid those veterans who had perilled their lives that the Republic might live; having come up from the ranks of the people, he sympathized with them, understood their views and feelings, and was ever ready to promote their interests.

As a politician in the highest sense of the word, General Burnside was eminently successful. He did not possess dazzling attainments without native good sense; nor splendid oratory without wisdom or judgment; nor elegance of manners without sincerity of purpose; but, instead of those, he united in a very eminent degree those rare qualifications of a sound common sense, practical and use-

ful to a public man, which are the result of firmness of purpose, with accuracy of judgment, and strong natural talents. Planning a coming election as he would have prepared for a battle, he selected his aides-de-camp to carry out his plans, and by careful management and attention to every minor detail, insured success. Inspiring his political associates with a consciousness of strength, a spirit of energetic determination, and a conviction of right, he found it an easy task to stimulate their exertion until victory was secured.

As a husband, son-in-law, and brother, General Burnside presented a character truly noble, and proved that his heart was in the right place. When elected to the United States Senate he was in his fifty-first year ; but there are few men who, at that age, are so free from disease, and who enjoy the same mental and physical energy. His was a constitution of great elasticity and vigor, capable of much endurance, and of active bodily and mental exertion ; although his life had been a very active one, and his energies had been taxed very heavily, he possessed all the physical and mental energy of a young man.





CHAPTER XXXI.

TAKES HIS SEAT IN THE SENATE—THE OLD AND NEW SENATORS
—DECORATION DAY AT ANTIETAM NATIONAL CEMETERY—
PATRIOTIC ADDRESS ON DECORATION DAY—SPEECH AT THE
COMMENCEMENT DINNER OF BROWN UNIVERSITY—BANQUET
OF THE LOYAL LEGION AT BOSTON—GENERAL GRANT AT
"EDGHILL FARM."

GENERAL BURNSIDE took his seat in the United States Senate on Friday, the 5th of March, 1875. It was a called session, the Forty-third Congress having terminated its existence on the previous day. The oath was administered to the new Senators by Vice-President Henry Wilson, and it was a noteworthy fact that it was taken at the same time by Hannibal Hamlin and Andrew Johnson, who had been Vice-Presidents under Abraham Lincoln.

Among the old Senators were General Burnside's colleague, Mr. Anthony, the *pater senatus*, with cordial words of welcome for all new-comers; Mr. Conkling, a powerful intellectual gladiator, able to learnedly expound the law or to engage in running debate with sarcasm and force; Mr. Edmunds, observant and learned in the law; Mr. Bayard, called the type of a Roman of the Augus-

tinian age; General Ransom, of North Carolina, who had heroically fought for the lost cause, and now sought to promote the welfare of his constituents; Mr. Morton, one of the friends of Burnside's early youth, who had subsequently been war-governor of Indiana, and who was a stalwart pillar of the Republican temple; Mr. Sherman, a trained and able statesman, who seemed in political life like a thorough-bred race-horse harnessed to a dirt-cart; and General Logan, his dark eyes glistening as though he were about to lead his old army corps into action.

Among the new Senators were Mr. B. K. Bruce, a Mississippian, with courtly manners and fair education, whose colored skin showed his African descent; Mr. Dawes, who had just been transplanted from the lower house, where he had had great experience; Mr. Jones of Florida, one of the few Senators who have been deprived by birth of any chance of becoming President, and whose usefulness as a legislator has thereby been greatly increased: Mr. Maxey, of Texas, General Burnside's old West Point comrade, who had served gallantly in the Confederate army; Mr. William Pinkney Whyte, an accomplished and courteous member of the Baltimore Bar; and four old-fashioned Jeffersonian Democrats — Messrs. Eaton of Connecticut, Kernan of New York, Thurman of Ohio, and McDonald of Indiana, all of whom had unexpectedly again come to the political front. General Burnside was appointed on three important committees, viz.: Military Affairs, of which General Logan was chairman; Commerce, of which Mr. Conkling was chairman; and Education and Labor, of which Mr. Patterson was chairman.

The Senate, in the called session, ratified the reciprocity treaty with the Hawaiian Islands, and confirmed the nominations of a number of members of the preceding Congress

who had failed to secure a reelection in the political campaign of the preceding autumn. Governor Morton led off in a long debate on the admission of Mr. Pinchback as a Senator from Louisiana, which was finally postponed until



THE CAPITOL, AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

the next December ; ex-President Johnson delivered a long speech, which had no strength except in the vigor of its invective ; and finally the Senate adjourned on the 25th of March.

General Burnside made a favorable impression on his brother Senators, and was regarded as a friend of kindness and conciliation. He saw nothing alarming in the election of ex-Confederate officers to positions in the Federal government, believing that their loyalty could be safely trusted, and he wished to see the people of all the States of the Union again under the supervision of their own constituted authorities.

On the 29th of May, 1875, General Burnside attended the celebration of Decoration Day at the Antietam National Cemetery. An immense crowd had gathered from the surrounding country, and this city of the dead was peopled with the living, come to pay their yearly tribute to the brave men who had struggled upon the mountains, plains, and hill-sides of Maryland for the perpetuity of our common brotherhood, and had given the measure of their lives to that which to them seemed right and best.

General Burnside arrived at Sharpsburg early in the morning, and visited the stone bridge which he so gallantly held on the memorable battle-day. Afterwards a procession was formed, which escorted the general to the cemetery, where the exercises of the day took place on the stand. General Burnside, after alluding to the ceremonies of the day, spoke of the strong thoughts and feelings that hung upon those who filled these graves thirteen years before, and left their comrades in their resting-places, to go to their posts of duty. Now they gladly came year after year to the performance of this votive service, not in sadness but in tenderness; not in distrust but in hope and faith in the country's greatness and happiness; not to wish departed comrades back again, nor to lament their departure, but to remember their heroic virtues and sacrifices, to draw lessons from them, and to again join hearts and hands in pledges of fraternity, charity, and loyalty.

"Let no one," said General Burnside, "arrogate to himself any extraordinary merit for his service to the country. Let no one disparage the service of his fellow-soldiers who served with the same integrity as he. The private who fought gallantly in the ranks is entitled to the same praise as the most successful general in the field. The sergeant of sharp-shooters who followed his regiment on the hotly-

contested field unarmed, because his rifle was broken by a shot, but who took the first opportunity to arm himself with the musket of a fellow-soldier, with which he did good service, and afterward yielded his life, is entitled to as high a place on the roll of honor as the gallant general who fell at the head of his charging column. Neither let us boast of great merit for remaining loyal to our country and its government in its perilous hour of danger, but rather let us be thankful for the sound wisdom and strength of purpose which led us to discover the right, and pursue it, amid all discouragements and hardships. Let us remember that there lie buried on this field the remains of brave and honest soldiers who met us here in deadly conflict. They were our brothers, who had been led from the paths of loyalty by a system of political instruction and a course of events which need not be referred to on this occasion. Might we not have been led in the same direction under like circumstances?"

"Comrades," said General Burnside, in conclusion, "whilst performing this loving duty, let us banish pride, exultation and hatred, — if we possess any of them, — and unite our hearts in earnest prayer to God that differences may be laid away — that all breaches may be healed, and that, as a united people, we may ever remain faithful to our beloved country. These centennial days should inspire us all with an increased patriotic desire for unity, peace, and concord. Our hearts should be filled with gratitude to God, that the government handed down to us by our forefathers of the Revolution is still our valued inheritance."

At the dinner on Commencement day of that year, at Brown University, the president introduced, with complimentary remarks, as the next speaker, "General, Gov-

ernor, Senator Burnside." The general, thus called upon, said: "I really believe that there is no man in the United States who has a higher appreciation of, and who more truly enjoys such reunions than I; but I cannot be expected to speak to you here as these scholars and instructors speak. I am proud of the degree conferred upon me by your college as anybody can be, but I did not get it in a legitimate way. Circumstances threw me to the front during the war, and I became identified with the people of Rhode Island, and they chose to believe that I did some service to the country. I certainly hope they believe I did my best. This institution has chosen very kindly to confer upon me honors which I cannot say I shall always deserve, but I shall always conduct myself in that way that they will not be led to regret conferring them upon me. I always feel a great interest in reunions of this kind. It always pleases me to see such a body of representative men as this assembled from all parts of the country. It assures me that the safety of the country is established; that the security of the country is established. I am satisfied that the late war was managed and handled by the hands of those who were educated in the institutions of the North. I am satisfied that the New England system of education did more than any other power to suppress the Rebellion, and I can give no better advice to young men than this one thing: Keep your interest for Alma Mater always alive. Always remember her with affection and interest, and always be ready to do everything in your power to promote her best interest. When you find yourself forgetting Alma Mater; when you find yourself indolent in your exertions for her welfare, remember that some power has taken possession of you that you had better shake off. The influence of it is bad. The

moment you find your interest in that institution flagging, remember that you are taking an interest in something else that is doing you no good, but which must do you great harm. The annual meetings of the graduates of the military academy at West Point are not of long standing. They were instituted after the close of the war, and have increased in interest ever since the first was held. The annual reunion for this year occurs to-morrow, but I shall be unable to attend, on account of a previous engagement. But I feel myself in a great measure repaid for the loss of the pleasure of that occasion, by the meeting I have had with you to-day, and the opportunity I have had of thanking this institution for the honor it has conferred upon me."

General Burnside participated in the centennial celebration of the battle of Bunker Hill, and marched over the entire route in the ranks of the Loyal Legion. There were in the procession several military organizations from the Southern States, and a number of officers who had served in the Confederate ranks. The celebration, while commemorative of the brave achievements of the past, was intended to be productive of good feeling and fellowship in the future. At a banquet given by the Loyal Legion General Burnside was called out and received with twice three cheers and a tiger. He said:

"It has been my feeling ever since the conclusion of the war, that I was quite ready to do everything possible to bring about reconciliation. I think it the duty of all soldiers to make reconciliation the watch-word of the hour, but it must always be founded upon the principle that it is the duty of every soldier and citizen of this country to stand by the Union and the Constitution, no matter by whom assailed. I am not in the slightest degree disposed

to point out specifically that particular set of persons who were responsible for that mode of education, and for bringing to a crisis the events, which brought on the Rebellion ; but I do say that it was a bad education which made men disloyal when they ought not to have been, and that there are men in the South at this day who know that to be the fact. That once acknowledged, then I shall forever blot out all differences. I would give full and implicit trust in every one at the South for having honest hearts, believing that the Confederate troops were not maliciously bad, but that their conduct was the result of bad political education." The general then referred to his election, and said that he was not one of those who believed that because a man has been in the army he is not qualified for civil service, and in a pleasant way said he believed he should make a reasonably good and respectable Senator.

In August, 1875, President Grant was a guest of General Burnside at "Edghill Farm" for two days. On the first day he visited the ancient town of Bristol, which had been gaily decorated for the occasion. The streets were thronged with well-dressed people, the houses were decked with flags, and there was attendance of veteran associations and Grand Army posts. The next morning it rained, but in the afternoon the sun shone brightly, and General Grant participated in a Rhode Island clam-bake near General Burnside's house, with about two hundred invited guests. When they were seated at the table the host, with his fine face beaming with enjoyment and pardonable pride, stated that he was requested by General Grant to express the pleasure this visit to Rhode Island had afforded him and his gratification at the cordial welcome extended to him, and—hesitating and smiling—"that all he now desired was to eat his dinner." General Grant had never

before witnessed the process by which the mollusks of Narragansett Bay were converted on the funeral pyre into fit food for imperial, royal, or republican warriors. He had won a great victory at Shiloh, had captured Vicksburg, had flanked Lee in the Wilderness, and finally captured the Confederate legions at Appomattox Court House. At "Edghill Farm," supported by General Burnside, he led a forlorn hope of two hundred tried and trusty friends "into the breach," right over the breast-works, and on through the smoke and slaughter of the biggest clam-pit since King Philip fed his hungry warriors on the sandy shores of Mount Hope Bay.

General Burnside was a warm admirer of General Grant, and a firm supporter of his administration, although he never hesitated to express his opinions at the White House on the questions of the day, when they were directly at variance with those of the President. He had no desire to join in the scrambles for "patronage," but it was his pleasure and his pride to secure civil or military appointments for those who had served under him, especially the members of his personal staff.





CHAPTER XXXII.

IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE—DEATH OF MRS. BURNSIDE—SENATORIAL DUTIES—MODESTY—EXPOSURE OF AN AMICABLE ARRANGEMENT—CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR—HAYES AS PRESIDENT—TRIBUTE FROM SENATOR JONES—HOSPITALITY AT WASHINGTON.

GENERAL BURNSIDE was promptly in his seat at the commencement of the first regular session of the Forty-fourth Congress, on the 6th of December, 1875. He left Providence, however, with great reluctance, on account of the indisposition of Mrs. Burnside, who was unable to accompany him as had been projected. He was re-appointed on the committees of Military Affairs, Commerce, and Education and Labor, but he presented no business for consideration. Hastening home at the Christmas vacation, he found his wife much worse, and she was taken from him on the 9th of March, 1876. Her death was a great grief to her bereaved husband, who had retained for the bride of his youth "that love which is peculiar to men of strong minds—whose affections are not easily won, or widely diffused." A woman of great strength of character and of clear judgment, she had been his support and encouragement in many a trying hour, while she had adorned his domestic hearth by her virtues

and accomplishments. During their entire married life General and Mrs. Burnside furnished an interesting picture of conjugal felicity ; united not only in affection and interests, but in tastes and inclinations. Their numerous friends sincerely mourned when this ripened garland of hymeneal intercourse was snapped ; when the devoted husband was smitten with sudden gloom like the visitation of an eclipse ; when this happy social picture was dashed by the Almighty hand into a portrait of premature loneliness, for " one was taken, the other left."

Politics does not, however, recognize private grief, and General Burnside soon had to leave for Washington to sit as a member of the high court of impeachment which tried General Belknap, Secretary of War. He was sworn in as a member of the court on the 17th of April, 1876, the second day of the trial, and he participated in the proceedings until early in the succeeding June, when he left for his rural home at Bristol. During that summer the few who saw him say that life seemed to him very dark indeed. For several months he was in a state of nervous and physical prostration, and entertained serious thoughts of retiring from the office of Senator, fearing that he could not perform the duties of the position to the satisfaction of the people of Rhode Island. While he overcame these fears, he never ceased to mourn the loss of his wife, although he never obtruded his grief. He had many quiet and lonely hours, and he looked forward with a certain hopefulness and trust to the time when he should again meet the dear friend and cherished counselor to whom he had given his early love.

At the second regular session, which commenced on the 4th of December, 1876, General Burnside took his seat, determined, if possible, to attend to his senatorial duties.

As a Senator, he displayed the same desire to promote the power and greatness of the Republic that he had while in the army and in the service of the State of Rhode Island, showing continually a patriotic sympathy with the masses of the people. He was a regular attendant on the meetings of the committees of which he was a member, and was rarely absent at the prayer of the chaplain, preparatory to the daily opening of the Senate. During the session he seldom left his seat, and listened attentively to everything that transpired. Occasionally he would say a few words in a straightforward way, and with the unhesitating air of being irrefragably in the right. As he proceeded every word he uttered sounded like the utterance of an oracle. Occasionally he would glance around with an expression of countenance which implied a doubt whether his hearers thought it worth while that he should say anything more in support of his proposition, nor was he displeased when any other Senator interrupted him, especially if he thought the interruption was made in good faith.

General Burnside's modesty was remarkable. Late one night, when a bill providing for the Electoral Commission was being discussed, he said: "Mr. President, in the discussion of important questions like this it becomes a Senator, young in the service, and particularly one unskilled in law and debate, to listen attentively to the arguments presented by eminent members of the Senate, and then to apply to the arguments and precedents his common sense, patriotism, and sense of justice, with a view of casting a correct vote. In that view, I had not intended to detain the Senate for a moment with any word from me upon the subject, until the remarks of the Senator from Indiana (Mr. Morton), the other day, with reference to the intimi-

dation, or rather fear, of the Senators on this side of the house."

General Burnside then proceeded to request Senator Morton to turn to a debate a year previous, upon the bill introduced by him for counting the electoral vote, where he would find himself recorded in almost exact variance with the principles which he was then announcing. The general concluded by saying :

Now, Mr. President, I will beg the honorable Senator from Indiana to excuse me from occupying a position on the list of Senators who support this bill under the influence of apprehension. I do not mean by this

remark to imply that I believe such a list of Senators exists, nor can I believe that the honorable Senator from Indiana meant to cast that reflection upon any of the Senators on this side of the chamber, who have fought under his leadership so many gallant political battles. I do not think he meant that they were influenced by intimidation, or by anything but a high sense of duty and patriotism, as men interested in the welfare of their constituents and the good of the whole country. I have faith in the tribunal or commission to be appointed under this bill. I believe it will be actuated by great wisdom and a pure patriotism. I thank the Senate for their attention.



PRESIDENT HAYES.

In February, 1877, a contumacious witness was brought before the Senate, charged with the refusal to produce certain papers. General Burnside, however, was aware

that the question at issue had already been settled both by a committee of the Senate and a committee of the House, and he said :

Both committees have dropped examination into the private accounts of Mr. Tilden, and the private accounts of Mr. Chandler—they have dropped all investigation with reference to such matters. That is a fact known to everybody,—at least, I have been told so. The president of Mr. Tilden's bank, a friend of mine, and the cashier himself told me so. The president of the bank took the accounts of Mr. Tilden out of his pocket, and said he was quite ready to present those accounts whenever called upon, but he had been relieved from that obligation. I was informed that certain things had been agreed upon,—in other words, a compromise had been made between the two committees. If there was anything at issue here, notwithstanding the fact that the witness is a personal friend of mine, I should vote for making him answer all proper questions, and I should be in favor of using all necessary force to make him answer such questions; but I see no reason why he should be placed under any restraint at this time, if he will express a willingness to the president of the Senate to go before the committee and answer all proper questions. I submit to the Senate that it would be proper for the president of the Senate to ask him a question of this character, and if he is willing to answer all proper questions before the committee, let that end the matter.

The witness could not be held after this frank statement, although several of the leading Senators on different sides of the chamber disclaimed all knowledge of any such compromise.

The election of General Hayes as President of the United States was very gratifying to General Burnside, who remembered his heroism at the battle of Sharpsburg, and gave his administration a cordial support.

At the special session of the Senate which began on the 5th of March, 1877, General Burnside was made chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor. The other members of the committee were Messrs. Patterson, Morrill, Bruce, Sharon, Gordon, Maxey, Bailey, and Lamar. A number of important measures were soon re-

ferred to the committee, and whenever a meeting was called, the chairman was always found seated at the head of the table at the appointed hour, with the papers to be considered arranged before him.

In the struggle over the admission of Governor Kellogg as a Senator from Louisiana, General Burnside acted with his usual impartiality. "I do honestly believe," said he, "that the argument of the Senator from Indiana (Mr. Morton) was a correct argument, and that Mr. Kellogg was elected Senator from Louisiana according to law; but I do think, inasmuch as there is another body claiming to elect, that it is due to this body, and due to the country, that this case should be referred to a committee. If that committee report in what I conceive to be the facts of the case, Mr. Kellogg will receive my vote for admission."

The Forty-fourth Congress not having made any appropriations for the support of the army, President Hayes convened the two houses on the 15th of October, 1887. An attempt which was made at this session to reduce the number of officers in the army met with decided opposition from General Burnside. "We were," said he, "called together by the President of the United States for the purpose of making provisions for the payment of those salaries and for the payment of the men in the field. I conceive it to be my duty, and I am free to say that I believe it to be the duty of the Senate, to at once proceed to the fulfillment of the contract with those officers, and not waste time in discussing the propriety of increasing or diminishing the army. I must dissent from what has been said with regard to the superfluity of officers, and at the proper time I shall endeavor to give to the Senate my reasons for that dissent. I do not think this is the proper time. It is a fact that the army roll shows that a

given number of officers are lawfully employed by the government of the United States. They have been employed at certain fixed salaries. They are entitled to those salaries.. They have been kept out of those salaries for months."

General Burnside was much esteemed by his associates in the Senate. When, during the exciting debate on the admission of Governor Kellogg as a Senator from Louisiana, he asked Senator Ben. Hill some sharp questions, the eloquent Georgian replied: "I will answer the Senator from Rhode Island, for whom I have very great respect, and I would not say anything to him that was not respectful for any consideration on earth, although my language sometimes appears to these other gentlemen to be disrespectful, when I do not mean it." He then answered the interrogatories.

Senator Jones, of Florida, when the Senate was paying its tribute of respect to the memory of General Burnside, bore the following testimony to his senatorial popularity :

Every man who dies in his place in the Senate must have something said about him, and as no one will ever be found to express anything but praise on such occasions, it has been accepted as a truism that no man ever died in the Senate who was not entitled to his share of senatorial commendation. How often has it been noted here that the political adversary, who in the life-time of his antagonist could find in him nothing to admire or praise, after death had ended his career was found disclosing to the country in luminous sentences the varied virtues and talents which distinguished the deceased. I rejoice, Mr. President,—if such a word is at all permissible on such an occasion,—that I am able to say over the ashes of our departed friend, what it was often my pleasure to say when he was living; that in all the best qualities of manhood, in heart and generous feeling, in unsullied integrity, in gentleness and courage, in conscientious devotion to duty, in true patriotism, in fidelity to friendship, in contempt of everything low and ignoble, in appreciation of all that was high and honorable, in charity and love for his species, in all the boundless resources of a great, manly heart, Senator Burnside has left

no superior behind him in this chamber. In order to do justice to this distinguished man it is only necessary to portray his true character. He made no pretensions as a master of oratory. He aimed at no distinction for sharpness in debate. He never, within my recollection, attempted any display on this floor. The plainness and pointedness of his speech was in keeping with the openness and candor of his heart, the honesty of whose purposes required no richness of vocabulary to relieve it from the suspicion of insincerity.

Kind Nature, in the bestowal of her gifts, both to animals and men, has ever regarded the wants which their imperfections created. The lion is not gifted with the activity of the deer, but he is armed with a power as well adapted to his protection as the fleetness of the other. The plain, open, unsuspecting heart needs not the polished phrase of oratory to give effect to its convictions. The man whose character is a beacon-light of truth, honor, and integrity will be felt in the simplest speech, while the artful and cunning deceiver requires all the best power of expression to enable him to convince the world of the honesty of his purposes and the integrity of his principles.

Need I appeal to the Senate to verify this assertion? When our departed friend rose in this chamber, who, even among his political adversaries, ever for a moment questioned the truth and sincerity of his statements? All felt that, whatever might be the weight of his argument, it was the emanation of a mind honestly impressed, and free from every taint of deception or insincerity. Well do I remember when, during the extra session, he rose in his seat and rebuked this side of the chamber for what he called our want of dignity in resorting to dilatory motions; and when reminded by my friend from Kentucky that, on a previous occasion he was himself an obstructionist by retiring to the cloak-room to avoid a vote, without the slightest hesitation or effort at prevarication, he admitted his delinquency, and said if God would forgive him he would never do so again. Although he took his place in the Republican ranks, and was a true party man, still all could see that he was at times too broad and liberal, too good and kind, too great a lover of his country and his fellow-man to follow any party beyond the bounds of charity, justice, and right. While he was one of those who had drawn his sword for his government when force was to be met with force, yet every one knew that his countrymen of the South, in the days of sorrow and misfortune, received nothing but kindness and generosity at his hands. In his intercourse here with men of all parties and from all sections, his conduct was always that of a kind, conciliatory spirit, ever considerate of the feelings and honor of others, while he was always watchful and jealous of his own. No man was so humble or lowly as to be below his consideration and kindness, and no man was so high as to be above his contempt and

scorn, when his conduct merited his reproach. He combined the tenderness and gentleness of a woman with the lofty courage, the high bearing, and stern demeanor of a Roman senator. And while his great heart would melt with charity for the sufferings of his fellow-man, when the occasion which moved him had passed away he could resume his place here with immovable firmness and decision, and exact every formal right that was due to the dignity of his position. In his intercourse with his brother Senators, no man knew better than he did where to draw the line between overstrained dignity and haughtiness, and vulgar familiarity which often destroys the charm of social life. While never forgetting that he was a Senator and a gentleman, he made it easy for all to approach him and converse with him, and if the sternness of integrity repelled those whose motives and purposes were bad, his warm heart and sympathetic nature gave a sure passport to his presence to all who in any way were deserving of recognition.

General Burnside kept house in the city of Washington, having with him his faithful colored servants who were so devoted to him. He was very hospitable, and it was his great pleasure to gather friends around his social board. Senator Maxey, who had been his classmate at West Point, and who represents Texas in the Senate, said of him: "When 'off duty' he gathered his friends around him for social intercourse. The most pleasant nights of the few I could spare from duty in Washington have been under his hospitable roof, where he delighted to gather his old-time friends without the slightest regard to whether they had worn the blue or the gray. I have been in these gatherings where the only man who had not been at West Point or in Mexico with Burnside, would be his beloved colleague, the senior Senator from Rhode Island, Mr. Anthony, who was always on such occasions an honored guest, contributing his full share of valuable instruction and interesting anecdote in a kindly, pleasant way. I think Burnside would have thought any party at his house incomplete without Senator Anthony. Devotion to his friends was a leading trait in his character. Burnside and

I differed in our political creeds, yet it never made the slightest difference in our personal relations. Among the first of the telegrams I received last winter, on my reelection, was one from him, and not one did I prize more highly."

In Washington society, General Burnside was a great favorite, winning all hearts by his kindness and his cordiality. One well acquainted with the American metropolis wrote, after his death: "Externally, General Burnside was a showy and impressive man, with a great deal of 'deportment'; internally he was something still better, a brave and knightly and gentle heart. But a few days preceding his sudden death I was at a suburban party among a little knot of Washington and Georgetown old families. A bright lady guest of one of these families, residing in Providence, was present, and she talked to me vivaciously about Rhode Island's Senators, both of whom she knew very well at home. She said, merrily, that it was always a treat to meet General Burnside at a party; that he would come up in his superb, soldierly way and offer a cordial hand to her, saying: 'How do you do? How do you do, my dear madam? How do you do?' and without another word, go on to the next acquaintance similarly, leaving her with an impression of having had a very nice talk with him. 'I know there is nothing weighty behind that grand manner,' she added; 'I know he adds just nothing at all to the intellectual wealth of the Senate; but what a treasure he is, after all. Rhode Island likes him, and always will.'"



CHAPTER XXXIII.

DEATH OF SENATOR MORTON — ENLISTMENT OF COLORED RECRUITS
— COMMISSION FOR THE REORGANIZATION OF THE ARMY —
MILITARY BANDS — EIGHT-HOUR LAW — IMPARTIAL REPORTS.

THE first session of the Forty-fifth Congress terminated and the second session commenced on the 3d of December, 1877, the Constitution of the United States having prescribed that the two houses shall meet annually, on the first Monday in December. General Burnside was re-appointed chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor, and he was placed second on the Committee on Military Affairs.

The death of Senator Morton, a few weeks before the commencement of the regular session, was keenly felt by General Burnside. They had been friends in their boyhood, and they used to pleasantly recur to the fact that when they were apprentices Morton had made a hat for Burnside, and Burnside had made a coat for Morton. They had left their neighboring homes to enter college in

the same year,—Morton as a student at Miami University, and Burnside as a cadet at West Point. These early relations prompted General Burnside to make some interesting remarks when the death of Senator Morton was announced in the Senate. In the course of these remarks he said :

He never wearied his political friends by too much speech, and always occupied his opponents. He rarely, if ever, indulged in personalities or in frivolities. It is said by those who have known him very intimately that he had a hard struggle with himself in early life to break the habit of indulgence in wit and ridicule which his keen sense of humor was apt to lead him into. Upon the breaking out of the Rebellion, Morton at once sprang into still greater prominence. His great services as one of the war-governors have been fully portrayed upon this occasion, and I will not detain the Senate by reiterating them. It will not be amiss, however, to refer to a few of his more prominent characteristics. His great care and love for the soldiers of his state, not only while they were in the field but after their return to their homes, won for him their great respect and affection. He was eminently patriotic. No sacrifice was too great for him to make in the cause of his country.

He was a lover of law and order, and was adverse to being led into an arbitrary exercise of authority by the emergencies of the war. I remember while I was in command of the Department of the Ohio, which department embraced the State of Indiana, that I had occasion to issue a general order with a view to reaching persons who I thought were indulging in treasonable speeches. Under this order some prominent citizens were arrested, and among them a prominent citizen of Ohio, and one of the state senators of the State of Indiana. Morton urgently argued with me against the wisdom and justice of the arrest of these citizens, and demanded the release of the state senator, notwithstanding the fact that he was one of his most bitter political opponents. He had ambition, but never allowed it to blind him to what he conceived to be the best interests of the country. He was a prominent aspirant for the nomination by his party at the last presidential election, and was doubtless sorely disappointed at his failure to receive the nomination, but when he wrote his letter of advice to his fellow-citizens as to the duty of the hour, all were assured that his failure had engendered in him no ill-will toward his party or to the distinguished gentleman who received the nomination, but quite the reverse; he was ready and anxious to give him his full support and encouragement.

General Burnside paid great attention to military matters, and introduced several measures which he believed would greatly promote the efficiency of the army. One of these measures was the abolition of the Ninth and Tenth cavalry, and the Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth infantry as colored regiments, under existing law, and the enactment of such legislation as would give the colored citizens all the rights of any citizen to enlist in any arm of the United States forces, engineers, artillery, cavalry, infantry, or the signal corps. In the debate of this bill General Burnside said :

Mr. President, the position of an enlisted soldier in the United States Army is the only position not freely open to our colored citizens, and I can see no reason why they should not be as free in this respect as in all others. If the colored people are fit for soldiers at all they should be enlisted for any duty for which they may be personally qualified, and assigned to the corps where the public interests require their services. The mode of assignment should be left to the Secretary of War and the officers of the army properly intrusted with such duties. It would be a waste of time, after all the discussion of past years in reference to the rights of the colored people, to enter into an elaborate argument to prove that they have the same rights of enlistment and assignment as other citizens. It is objected that the mingling of colored soldiers with white ones would be a hardship to the whites. I can see no justice in this argument. If it is a hardship to the white citizens of our country to associate with the colored citizens in the performance of public duties, and if the rights of colored men are to be restricted, then the rule should apply to all public positions. The right to go to the polls, the right to hold state and national offices, the right to occupy a seat upon this floor, the right to occupy the Presidential chair, should rest in the white man. What would be thought of a statute which required that four specified states should be represented by colored Senators, particularly if by implication it took from the other states the right to send colored Senators? We have upon this floor an honored representative of the colored race, who is respected by all of us, and with whom we are all glad to be associated; but he does not come here because of a law requiring that Mississippi should send a colored Senator. He is here because his fellow-citizens of that state have honored him by their free suffrages. Any other state in this Union can send here a colored Senator, and if he conducts himself honorably and properly he will be respected.

The right to enlist in the naval service of the United States has always rested with the colored people, and there is no disposition on the part of the naval officers to have that right restricted.

I grant, Mr. President, that there is a division of opinion in the army upon the question of enlisting colored men in the army; I mean upon the subject of mixing the white and colored men in the same regiment; but there is no difference of opinion as to the lack of wisdom in the present organization of the four regiments referred to in this bill. The general of the army and the general officers in command of the departments in which these regiments serve, agree in the opinion that the present system of enlisting colored men is bad. Among the evils of the present organization of these regiments is the great difficulty at times in keeping their ranks filled. Just now there is great trouble in getting colored recruits, so that the ranks of the colored cavalry regiment in New Mexico are but half filled, and, although white recruits are abundant, they cannot be assigned to this regiment.

But, Mr. President, I base my argument in this matter upon the high ground that the colored man should be allowed to enlist in any arm of the service he may choose, if he is found by the recruiting-officer to be a suitable man, and that he should be assigned by the proper authorities to the corps for which he is best suited, and in which his services will most conduce to the public good.

When the army appropriation bill came before the Senate, General Burnside moved to strike out from the second to the twenty-seventh sections, inclusive, and to insert twenty-six new sections prepared by him, reducing the army to a peace establishment. This was not accepted, but a commission was authorized, to consist of three Senators, three Representatives, and three officers of the army, to whom the whole subject matter of reform and reorganization of the army was referred. This commission was directed to carefully and thoroughly examine into the matter, with reference to the demands of the public service, as to the number and pay of men and officers, and the proportion of the several arms; and also as to the rank, pay, and duties of the several staff corps, and whether any and what reductions could be made, either in the line, field, or staff, in numbers or in pay, by consolidation or otherwise,

consistently with the public service, having in view a just and reasonable economy in the expenditure of public money, the actual necessities of the military service, and in the capacity for rapid and effective increase in time of war.

Another bill which General Burnside introduced was one prohibiting bands in the United States Army from performing for private individuals, and thus going into competition with professional musicians. Some of the Senators were disposed to ridicule this measure, and Mr. Ingalls of Kansas, suggested that in order to make the bill complete it should provide that any citizen of the United States not in the military service, who dared to listen to a military band without permission of the commander, should be tried by drum-head court-martial and shot to death. This humorous criticism was not acceptable to General Burnside, who said in reply :

Mr. President: I take it that all subjects brought before the Senate on behalf of a respectable body of citizens of the United States are entitled to respectful consideration. Some Senators have a greater power of ridicule than others. Some Senators have a way of handling subjects that are presented to them in that mode. I myself do not possess that power; I do not aspire to it; if I did I could not reach it. When any subject is presented to me under a petition of a respectable body of citizens, I endeavor to give that subject my direct attention. A respectable body of citizens of the city of New York presented a respectful petition, which was referred to the Military Committee. There was a disagreement in that committee. A majority of the committee decided to report adversely upon that petition. I was in the minority. One of the most respectable Senators in this body, interested in the welfare of his constituents, requested me to make a minority report. I did make a minority report. I drew a bill, and, by the unanimous consent of this Senate, I introduced that bill, and it was placed upon the calendar.

Now, neither the Senator from Kansas nor any other Senator, no matter what his power of ridicule may be, has any right whatever to endeavor to drive me from a strong position. No matter how small the subject is, every Senator is entitled to respectful consideration. The

Senator's power of ridicule may be greater than mine; but it has no effect upon me whatever. I shall do my duty, without reference to him or to any other Senator on this floor. I paid proper respect to this petition. If I had had the least idea that it was going to occupy so much valuable time at the close of the session I should never have moved it; I should have said to the Senator from New York that it would be better not to bring this subject up, because some Senator probably would be disposed to ridicule it. I certainly do not want to take up the time of the Senate by any such thing as that. I say it is unbecoming a Senator, I do not care who he is, to use the time of the Senate in any such way.

If Senators think this measure is not worthy of consideration, let some one get up and meet the question fairly and squarely, and move for its indefinite postponement. There is no such thing as ridiculing a measure of this kind. There is a body of musicians in the city of New York who are interested in the measure. Their rights are as good as the rights of the Senator from Kansas and of the Senator from Virginia. I will state to the Senator from Virginia very plainly that in my estimation it would be a wise provision if members of Congress were made to attend to the public business and look after the interests of the people, giving their whole time and attention to legislative matters. We should get along better. Nothing on the face of this earth, in my opinion, is so demoralizing as for members of Congress to be interested in outside things. I do not care whether they are lawyers, doctors, merchants, farmers, or anything else, the more attention they can give to the public interests the better off this country is. I say to the Senator from Kansas, or to any other Senator, that when he wants to drive me from any position I have taken he must not attempt to do it by ridicule.

General Burnside, as a member of the Committee on Education and Labor, was opposed to the act constituting eight hours a legal day's work for all laborers, workmen, and mechanics in the employ of the government of the United States. Said he:

That the government of the United States shall pay men for eight hours' work the same amount of money that is paid by private establishments outside for ten hours' work is simply absurd. It is not honest and right. It is unjust to the other workmen of the United States. The main body of working-men in the United States do not want any such measure as this passed. They do not want a privileged class of workmen in the government work-shops. No man in this Congress is more interested in

the welfare of the working-man than I am; I give that as much thought almost as I do any other subject. There is nothing within reason that I can be called upon to do to relieve the wants of the working-men of this country, that I will not do; but I will not do an unjust act. I will not do a thing that is unjust to the working-men of the United States as a body, for the benefit of two or three thousand employes of the government of the United States. The resolution on its face is absurd and unjust and wrong.

Every matter referred to General Burnside in a committee of which he was a member, received his careful and conscientious examination. Many of the cases affected those with whom he had had intimate relations, either in the old army or in the Union forces, yet he sat in judgment on them with marked impartiality. "I never knew him," said Senator Maxey, who served on the same committee, "to swerve, in a report of a case submitted to him, a hair's breadth from what he believed the right of the case. He has frequently said to me, 'I am sorry I had to make that report, but how could I help it?' The French say, *noblesse oblige*. In this country, thanks to a free government, we have no hereditary nobility; but we have a nobility far above any that earthly title can give,—the nobility God impresses on the honest man,—and that nobility obliged Burnside to do right as he understood right."

One of his reports was on the petition of an officer who had become addicted to the use of intoxicating drinks, and had resigned. It was accompanied by evidence showing that he had from that time led a very industrious life, and asked to be restored to his rank; but General Burnside felt that this would be injurious to the service, and made an unfavorable report, in which he said: "Whilst the individual sympathies and best wishes of the members of the committee are with Captain Owen, they cannot, as public officers, recommend the establishment of a prece-

dent, which would be made by the favorable consideration of petition."

The special military commission, of which General Burnside was chairman, was in session almost continuously during the summer months of 1878, at the White Sulphur Springs of Virginia. This was a cool and healthy location, where the members of the commission were free from the importunities of officers who might be affected by the result of their deliberations. Later in the season the commission adjourned to "Edghill Farm," where its industrious chairman distinguished himself as a hospitable host.





CHAPTER XXXIV.

WORK OF THE SPECIAL MILITARY COMMISSION—ARMS TO BE MANUFACTURED IN PRIVATE ESTABLISHMENTS—APPOINTMENT OF STAFF-OFFICERS—SOCIAL SCIENCE IN SCHOOLS—ESTIMATE OF GENERAL BURNSIDE'S CHARACTER, BY SENATOR EDMUNDS.

THE third session of the Forty-fifth Congress was commenced on the 2d of December, 1878. On the second day of the session, General Burnside offered a resolution, which was passed, directing the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds to inquire into the expediency of directing the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase so much of the lot of land upon which the old custom-house at Providence stood, with the view of having a new custom-house erected. He was ever on the alert to benefit the State of Rhode Island by the improvement of navigable waters, the building of light-houses, the construction of break-waters, and the erection of public buildings.

The special military commission was permitted to sit while Congress was in session, that it might review and

perfect its labors during the recess. In due time it perfected a bill, which General Burnside reported to the Senate on the 12th of December. The bill was printed, and a few days afterwards General Burnside thus explained its leading provisions :

Mr. President: The bill reported by the Joint Committee on the Reorganization of the Army is voluminous, not because an entire change has been made in all the laws relative to the army and its government, but because it is a combination of all the new sections proposed by the committee, the unchanged sections, and certain regulations and customs of service which it is now proposed to make law.

The committee deemed it wise to report a condensed code made up of all laws relating to the army, and arranged in proper order. Officers of the army, as a body, are law-abiding men. They will often question the wisdom and propriety of regulations made by their superiors in authority, but they rarely question the law. Nearly all the troubles between the staff and the line—and they have been numerous—have arisen from uncertainty as to the meaning and authority of regulations and customs of service. For this reason many of the regulations and customs of service have been ingrafted upon this bill, and if it meets with favorable action from Congress they will become law, and cease to be subjects of discussion and discord.

In preparing the part of the bill which relates to reorganization, the committee tried to keep in view both the efficiency and economy of the service. The action of the last session of Congress in reference to the size of the army was taken as a guide by the committee, and they at once settled upon 25,000 soldiers as the basis of organization. It was then decided that the number of general officers designated in the bill was the minimum number required for a force of this size, and I believe no one will contend that the bill provides for too many general officers.

It was decided, after much discussion, that the small battalion organization, which means three or more battalions to a regiment, is better adapted to modern arms and modern warfare than our old regimental or large battalion organization, which is one battalion to a regiment, and that system was ingrafted upon the bill. It was then decided that the staff department should be so reorganized as to give to the officers of the line education and experience as staff-officers, and staff-officers education and experience as line-officers.

To accomplish this it was necessary to make parts of the corps of the line skeleton organizations, and to make large reductions in the number of officers in the staff departments.

It was also decided to make the organization an elastic one; so that the army in a sudden emergency can be rapidly increased in rank and file and company officers, without necessarily increasing the number of general, field, or staff-officers.

The bill proposes that the regiments be composed of four battalions, three of which are to be officered permanently. It also proposes that in the infantry and artillery regiments but two of the battalions shall be manned, but in the cavalry regiments three battalions shall be manned for the present; and the company officers not on duty with battalions shall be detachable for duty in the staff departments, and shall be changed from time to time, as provided for in the bill.

The proportion of the different arms to each other was decided upon as follows, namely: Five regiments of artillery, eight regiments of cavalry, and eighteen regiments of infantry. It is most likely that a few years hence some of the cavalry regiments can be changed to infantry, and thus diminish the expense of the army. The elasticity is provided for by giving to the President the authority to increase the number of soldiers in each company to 100 in the cavalry and to 125 in the infantry and artillery, to transfer soldiers from one company or battalion to another, and to man the unmanned third battalions, provided that until otherwise ordered by Congress the number of soldiers shall not exceed 25,000; but in case an emergency should arise to require Congress to authorize a large increase of force, the President can at once officer and man the fourth battalions, and thus place the regiments upon a war footing, which will give the cavalry regiments 1,600 men each, and the infantry 2,000 men each, making if necessary an aggregate force, including engineer soldiers, of about 60,000 men, without increasing the number of regimental organizations.

The interchangeability between the line and the staff is established by making all the officers of the staff department below the rank of major detachable from the line of the army, as heretofore indicated, and reducing the number of field-officers of the staff departments to the number absolutely required for the present service. Promotion among the field-officers in these staff departments is to be made by seniority, except as to the chiefs, who can be selected from the field-officers of any corps in the army. As vacancies in the lowest grade occur they are to be filled by officers of the line who have shown merit and efficiency in their service in said departments. The result of this reorganization will be to diminish the number of officers on the active list by 333.

The bill explains itself fully as to the method of taking care of the officers on the retired and reserved lists, and the committee feel that its provisions on this subject are liberal. None of the general officers are to be thrown out of service at once, but no promotions are to be made until

they have been reduced to five, and thereafter the number shall not exceed six.

It was decided by the committee that no more arms be manufactured by the Ordnance Department, but that they should be purchased either by contract or in the open market. It must be evident to every one that action of this kind will stimulate the invention and manufacture of arms throughout the country, and that under this system the government can more readily supply itself with efficient arms in case of an emergency than it could under the present system. To say that the arms procured by the government in this way will not be as serviceable as if manufactured by the government, is to say that ordnance officers will become less expert as inspectors under the new system than the old, which I cannot believe. No badly manufactured arms will be received by the government of the United States, except by the neglect, incapacity, or dishonesty of the inspecting officers.

General Burnside, having made this general statement concerning the bill, proceeded to explain in detail a considerable number of its sections. Some of these sections had been denounced by the opponents of the bill, as curtailing the powers of the Secretary of War. This the general denied, declaring that in no way had an attempt been made to abridge the secretary's powers; but that they were as full and distinct as they could be made under the Constitution, and larger than they then were made by statute law.

Questioned by Senator Matthews, of Ohio, as to whether the bill limited the power of the Commander-in-Chief, General Burnside said that a new section had been introduced into the army regulations to insure efficiency in the staff departments, "but it limited the President no more in this respect than he is now limited as to other appointments. The President appoints a cadet to West Point, but he cannot appoint him under the present law or custom unless he is recommended by the member of Congress from the district from which that cadet is to be appointed. Under this bill he cannot appoint an officer in the staff departments

unless he is in the army. The junior officers in the staff departments are from time to time to be promoted to vacancies in those departments; and so there must be some method by which the appointments can be made. Otherwise they will be left entirely to the will of the President, and the President can make them from any part of the army without reference to their service in the department — can make them, in other words, at the solicitation of friends outside of the army, and friends who know nothing about the subject.”

In concluding his remarks, General Burnside said that the task of framing a bill to reduce the army had not been a pleasant one, and could he feel that the best interests of the country and of the army would be served by the failure of the bill, he would gladly oppose its passage, and would be delighted to know that some of his old military friends were not to be disturbed in their positions. “But,” said he, “I am satisfied that reorganization and reform is necessary, and unless it is accomplished under some systematic and considerate plan, reduction will be very soon made under a hasty and inconsiderate plan. It seems to me, therefore, very unwise in officers of the army, and particularly in the officers of the staff departments, to resist proper legislation touching this subject.”

A bill introduced by General Burnside, and referred to the Committee on Education and Labor, of which he was the chairman, received some humorous criticisms. It was in these words :

Be it enacted, etc., That the school officers shall introduce, as a part of the daily exercises of each school in their jurisdiction. instruction in the elements of social and moral science, including industry, order, economy, punctuality, patience, self-denial, health, purity, temperance, cleanliness, honesty, truth, justice, politeness, peace, fidelity, philanthropy, patriot-

ism, self-respect, hope, perseverance, cheerfulness, courage, self-reliance, gratitude, pity, mercy, kindness, conscience, reflection, and the will.

SECTION 2. That it shall be the duty of the teachers to give a short oral lesson every day upon one of the topics mentioned in Section 1 of this act, and to require each pupil to furnish a thought or other illustration of the same upon the following morning.

SEC. 3. That emulation shall be cherished between the pupils in accumulating thoughts and facts in regard to the noble traits possible, and in illustrating them by their daily conduct.

General Burnside asked the Senate to pass this bill, to which he said there could be no possible objection. "I am sure," said he, "that some of the legislative bodies of our country would be better behaved if some such bill as this had been enforced earlier in the history of the Republic." The Senate was not, however, disposed to pass the bill, although much of it was stricken out, Senator Eaton saying, "I should as soon think of striking the part of 'Hamlet' out of the play of *Hamlet*." The consideration of the bill was postponed.

A bill to promote the education of the blind received General Burnside's earnest support. "It had been the policy of the government," he said, "from its earliest days, to promote education of all kinds throughout the country, by gifts, by grants of both lands and money. I do not see why money cannot be appropriated to promote the education of the blind, as well as land to promote education in agricultural colleges. Moneys have already been appropriated by the government of the United States specially for the education of the deaf and dumb—45,440 acres of land and half a million of money. Why not make an appropriation for the education of the blind?"

The best analysis of the character of General Burnside while he was a Senator was made after his death, by his able and accomplished associate, Senator Edmunds, of Vermont, who said :

The career of General Burnside exemplifies, I think, in an eminent degree the life of a warrior who does not admit craft or indirection among his weapons. Whether right or wrong, he was one of the simplest and most direct of men. Calculation of incidents or consequences did not seem to enter into the measure of his estimation of what it was fit for him to do, so far as it regarded its effects upon himself, in going forward with any enterprise or measure in hand. If what was proposed appeared right according to the standard that commended itself to him, he "followed right because right is right, in scorn of consequence." Invective and ridicule in such a case fell upon his head without apparently diminishing in the least degree the real enthusiasm with which he held fast to and endeavored to advance whatever cause he had espoused. I have often thought when I have seen him—not educated in the law in its technical and precise character, nor yet largely informed in the wider realms of municipal and public jurisprudence—stoutly maintain some proposition which but for the necessary conventionalities of all systems of government and all relations between nations would have been proper, and was frequently in the abstract, how noble must be the character that for the sake of what he believes does not hesitate to discard the force of precedent and rebel against the mandates of authority.

Nor can we, I think, who act our short parts in the great drama of government—a stage on which there can be, humanly speaking, no final drop-scene—fail to admit how valuable to the continuing interests of society are the elements in legislative bodies that resist the force of precedent, that have small respect for what has been because it has been, that are fettered by no technicalities, and that feel as free as if the world had just begun.

The attendance to a blind obedience to forms, to precedents, and to methods is thus counterbalanced, just as, reciprocally, the converse elements in a legislative body restrain excess in the opposite direction. The equation and sum of perfect government, as we on this continent understand it, is thus made up. But this is not the proper occasion to enlarge upon these interesting topics. Let me, rather, as I join his colleague and successor in mourning his untimely departure, testify to the charming qualities of his private character. I have known him for more than ten years, but not intimately until he came to take his place in this great conclave of the representatives of states. I am happy to remember that since then I have enjoyed frequently his unostentatious but warm-hearted and almost exuberant hospitality, and have been often honored with his apparently unreserved confidence in respect of many matters of public concern with which he had to deal. In our merely social intimacy, courtesy, candor, and unfailing kindness of heart were his constant characteristics. In relation to his connection with public

affairs and measures, he received praise without vanity or elation, and criticism without annoyance. Generous and gentle, his very faults seemed to attract the sympathy and touch the sensibility of his friends. He has left us without warning, not as a deserter, but in obedience to the power that dominates both senators and states. May his future be as peaceful and happy as his past has been full of the storms of war and the vicissitudes and labors of this our life.





CHAPTER XXXV.

THE DEMOCRATS GAIN POSSESSION OF THE SENATE—CHANGE OF OFFICERS—RHODE ISLAND PUBLIC WORKS—SPEECH ON THE MONROE DOCTRINE—FAIR PLAY AT WEST POINT—SOLDIERS AND SENATORS—RE-ELECTION TO THE UNITED STATES SENATE.

THE Democrats, who had controlled the House of Representatives for the preceding two years, had also a majority in the Senate at the commencement of the Forty-sixth Congress. A knowledge of this had prompted them to secure the defeat of the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Appropriation bill in the closing hours of the Forty-fifth Congress, and thus to render it necessary for President Hayes to convene the Forty-sixth Congress on the 4th of March, 1879. The Democratic majority in the Senate, which then, for the first time in eighteen years, controlled that body, determined to change its officers and servants,—not because of any incompetency

or neglect of duty on their part, but in obedience to the inexorable decrees of political partisanship. The Republicans had retained a considerable number of Democrats in office in 1861, and had afterwards appointed others, but the Democrats made a clean sweep of all officials not of their party, with the exception of a very few, whose services could not be dispensed with. Men who had served the country during the war, and whose especial knowledge of their duties could not be denied, were summarily discharged, that their positions, which they had creditably filled, might be given to political place-hunters belonging to the Democratic party. "We are responsible," said Senator Eaton, "and able to be responsible, for the carrying on of legislation, and we intend to do it with our own servants. That is the way to tell it and to talk it."

The standing, special, and joint committees of the Senate were also changed, and placed under Democratic control. General Burnside was deposed from the chairmanship of the Committee on Education and Labor, which was given to Mr. Bailey, of Tennessee. Then came Messrs. Gordon, Maxey, and Randolph; and after these, four Republicans, Messrs. Burnside, Morrill, Bruce, and Sharon. General Burnside was also the first named of the Republican minority on the Committee on Military Affairs, but he was dropped altogether from the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

General Burnside was ever on the alert to promote the success of some public work in the State of Rhode Island. Acting in concert with his colleague, Mr. Anthony, they secured the appropriation of large sums for the improvement of Providence River, for a harbor of refuge at Block Island, connected with the main land by a sub-marine telegraph; for additional light-houses and fog-signals

in Narragansett Bay, and for increased postal facilities at different places. Making no attempt at rhetorical display or brilliant language, he would, on presenting a measure to the Senate, state the reasons whereby it should be enacted with such brevity and clearness as would insure its passage.

True to the Republican party, General Burnside always sustained its principles, and on all matters of general legislation his influence and his vote were given to the most meritorious national measures. Among these was the important question of the Monroe doctrine, as applied to the construction of an inter-oceanic canal. He had introduced a joint resolution, in June, 1879, relating to the construction of a canal across the Isthmus of Darien by European powers. The next regular session of Congress commenced on the 1st of December, 1879, and on that day General Burnside gave notice that he should speak on the inter-oceanic canal question the next day. He did so, and was listened to with marked attention, speaking as follows :

Mr. President: I have requested that the joint resolution introduced by me in June last and referred to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, might be temporarily withdrawn from the consideration of that committee, that I may briefly state my reasons for introducing it, especially as those reasons have been misunderstood and misstated, in Europe, as well as in our own country. I will ask the secretary to read the preamble and joint resolution.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The joint resolution will be reported.

The chief clerk read as follows :

Whereas, the people of this Union have for upward of fifty years adhered to the doctrine asserted by President Monroe, "as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future 'occupation' by any European power:" Therefore,

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the people of these states would not view, without serious inquietude, any attempt by the powers of Europe to establish, under their protection and domination, a ship-canal across the Isthmus of Darien, and such action on the part of any European power could not be regarded "in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."

MR. BURNSIDE. This, Mr. President, is simply a reñunciation of what is known as the Monroe doctrine, a cardinal principle of American policy which has for upward of half a century secured us from foreign interference in, or foreign control of, the affairs of the Western Continent. This doctrine was embodied in the annual message of President Monroe to the Eighteenth Congress, which first met in this city on the first day of December, 1823. At that time the Russians wanted to extend their dominions on the Pacific Coast of North America so far southward as to include California, and King Ferdinand of Spain, who had been reinstated upon his throne by French bayonets, after having been banished by his disaffected subjects, was endeavoring to form an alliance with other European powers which would force back to their allegiance the revolted colonies of Spain in South America. Against this and similar demonstrations President Monroe formally protested, declaring to the potentates of the Old World that the United States would not tolerate the extension of their despotic machinations and intrigues to the New.

This Monroe doctrine, Mr. President, has been the safeguard of these United States, and has been appropriately designated as the club of Hercules and the shield of Telamon, the former to ward off the armed intervention of European powers, and the latter to protect this continent from colonial encroachment. Acting upon its provisions, the United States should maintain its position as the governing power on this continent, and should carefully but positively exercise its prerogatives. While we as a nation do not propose to unnecessarily interfere with the course of any independent American power, or of any colonial government dependent upon a European power, we should bear in mind that we are the dominant power on the North American continent.

Providence established our Republic in the wilderness, separated by the broad Atlantic from the intrigues and the corruptions of the Old World, which would have smothered the bright flames of liberty. Our fathers were permitted to achieve their independence, and in our day there has been an internal struggle for the perpetuity of the Union which has resulted in a firmer consolidation of the national power. We have not only maintained the position given us by our forefathers as against foreign powers, but we have suppressed the most gigantic rebellion known to history. We have also passed through a fierce struggle relating to the succession to the chief office of the Nation, a struggle which in any other country would have resulted in revolution, possibly anarchy. We settled the trouble by legislative action on the part of the people's representatives, and the people have acquiesced in and ratified that action.

Having perfected and strengthened our own existence, having attained a high standard of moral and intellectual excellence, and having developed an unequalled mechanical, agricultural, and mining prosperity, we

must not permit any infringement of our rights on this continent, or suffer any steps to be taken on any part of it which will interfere with progressive independence, civil or religious. Should any of the western governments now dependent upon European powers successfully renounce their allegiance, we should regard them as our political wards, and should encourage them in maintaining their independence; but we should not, and could not, allow them to take a step backward in the march of freedom and civilization. Should they attempt to establish a government less free than the one which they have cast off, we should at once intervene and see that they make an advance instead of a retrograde movement.

That the colonies of Great Britain on our northern frontier will take any step looking to independence at present is hardly probable, but in the course of time two adjacent populations, generally of the same origin, speaking the same language, and having a common interest, must gravitate toward each other. Substantially, they are moving in the same channel that we are, and we need give ourselves no uneasiness as to the result of the problem which they are working out. With respect to Mexico and other governments near our southern border, there is an entirely different state of affairs. Mexico is chronically in a distracted condition, and although it was respected by the United States when our flag floated in triumph over its capital, and subsequently delivered, in large part, by the friendly offices of the United States from foreign intervention, it sometimes appears incapable of self-government, and we may find it our unpleasant but imperative duty to control it by some process.

In my opinion, Mr. President, the time is not far distant when this government will have to take a new departure in its management of contiguous or newly-acquired territory. We should not necessarily invest with all the rights and immunities of citizenship people who may fall under our protection or control, and who are not qualified to exercise the duties of that citizenship, and some system of protection will necessarily be adopted by us to meet future exigencies in the management of such territories. We do not and should not desire acquisition of territory, but we must have peace on our borders. Our right to pursue Mexican marauders into their own territory, when the Mexican authorities are not capable of controlling them, has about been conceded. At all events, governmental armed forces have been authorized and directed to pursue these marauders into Mexico. This can only be a temporary expedient. The government of Mexico must acquire strength enough to control its citizens, and prevent them from encroaching upon our rights, or we must assume the responsibility of controlling them ourselves. The herdsman never attempts to control a wild mule by seizing its hind legs. He takes him by the head. We cannot control Mexico by handling and regulating its frontier. As for myself, Mr. President, I hope that the

day is far distant when internal dissension and inability to handle its own frontier will compel us to take it by the head. If the latter emergency should arise, the United States should not hesitate to meet it. There is no "holy alliance" on this continent, no "balance of power"; but the United States should exercise the governing and directing power. As I said of governments dependent upon European powers who may throw off their allegiance, that they should not be allowed to take a step backward, so I say of independent governments on this continent; they should not be allowed to take a step backward in the march of civil and religious liberty.

Mr. President, one of the most impressive sermons that I ever listened to was delivered by Bishop Howe, of Pennsylvania, many years ago, and before he had attained the high position which he now so ably fills. His text was taken from one of the Psalms, and read as follows:

Because they have no changes, therefore they fear not God.

In the most eloquent language he portrayed the great danger which rich and prosperous communities were in of forgetting the great source of all their worldly benefits, contenting themselves with luxurious ease, and allowing the very blessings which have been showered upon them to make them, in their selfishness, forget God. The Good Father has enabled us to establish upon this continent a great and free government. He has increased our riches, our intelligence, and our strength. With this he has imposed upon us certain duties, and we should not, as a people, wrap ourselves in the robes of luxury and ease, and declare ourselves content, no matter what may be going on in other governments on this continent. A duty rests upon us to see that this American land shall be devoted to freedom, and if we fail in the performance of that duty, a retribution will surely fall upon us.

At the present time, Mr. President, we should bear in mind that the Monroe doctrine not only declares that the American governments are not to be considered as subjects of future colonization by any European power, but that we should not view any interference on the part of those powers, for the purpose of suppressing the existing independent states of America, or, to quote the exact words, "controlling in any other manner their destiny, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."

The construction of an inter-oceanic ship-canal by European capitalists, under the protection of a European government or by the authority of a European charter, would not only enable that government to control the destiny of the independent states through which it would pass, either Panama, or Honduras, or Nicaragua, but it would be dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States. An inter-oceanic canal will really

be a maritime highway between the numerous sea-ports on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of the United States, and it appears to me that wisdom and justice require that the government of the United States should control that highway. It should be open to our commercial marine in times of peace, and to our naval vessels in times of war, without any European jurisdiction. The construction of an inter-oceanic canal, with European capital, under the protection of a European power or under a European charter, would be an obtrusive interference with our home affairs, which could but justly excite resentment, and which the citizens of the United States would never tolerate.

The contingency of the construction of an inter-oceanic canal, by any of the governments through whose territory it may pass, need hardly be discussed, because none of them have the financial resources necessary to its construction; yet had they the power, physically and financially, to construct the work, the duty of the United States would be none the less imperative to see that the control of it should rest with this government. But it has been asserted, Mr. President, that, no matter who may construct an inter-oceanic canal, its control will be a question of power. In other words, that the European governments will, if they see fit, control by force of arms this American naval thoroughfare.

Sir, that would be an impossibility. When the Monroe doctrine was originally promulgated, we were just recovering from a war which had cost much blood and treasure, which had disarranged our industries, checked our commerce, and increased our taxation. The European powers at that time had large accumulations of capital and a surplus of population, from which war would relieve them, so that a declaration of hostilities would not have interrupted their ordinary pursuits or have materially affected their national credit. Yet Mr. Monroe and his supporters did not hesitate. They did not request European governments to let this continent alone, but they defiantly asserted that any such interference could not be regarded "in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States." The people, without distinction of party, rallied around the banner thus unfurled, on which was inscribed "no foreign intervention," with a zealous confidence previously unknown. How different is the condition of our country now!

Our population has been enhanced by the natural increase, as well as by millions of the toilers of other lands who have come here to enjoy the blessing of civil and religious liberty. Iron rails bind the vast area of our territory, in every direction, while strong arms and honest hearts are successfully toiling in the mines, in the manufactories, and in the broad fields for their livelihood, and are thus augmenting our national wealth. To such perfection has the inventive genius of the land carried the ma-

chinery used for agricultural and mechanical purposes, that it would be possible for the women of America, in case of urgent need and patriotic call, to produce almost every desired supply of subsistence, clothing, and equipment. But few of the men would be required to do the heavy work in the foundries, in the manufactories, and in the field. The main part of the work could be done by patriotic women. This would enable an unparalleled body of men to take the field; and it is estimated that we could raise, arm, equip, and subsist an army of 5,000,000 of men. We could, by modern appliances in the way of torpedoes, floating batteries, etc., render access to our harbors by foreign ships impossible. What foreign power or powers could send a force to the American continent and effect any lodgment, in the face of such a body of national defenders and such means of national defense? It would be impossible to even collect such a fleet of transports as would be required to bring over such a hostile army of invasion to our shores.

I am well aware, Mr. President, that the Monroe doctrine has never been enacted by Congress and placed upon the national statute-book, but it has been recognized as a prominent feature of the unwritten law of the land, which has governed our Nation in its international relations. It has been intimated that the original author of the Monroe doctrine was Mr. Canning, but there is a letter written in October, 1823, to President Monroe by ex-President Jefferson, to whom he had applied for advice, which disposed of the intimation that this great American principle was adopted at the suggestion of a British statesman. Mr. Jefferson wrote:

Our first and fundamental maxim should be, never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe; our second, never to suffer Europe to interfere with cis-atlantic affair.

Daniel Webster said in Congress, on the 11th of April, 1826, speaking of the promulgation of the Monroe doctrine:

I have understood from good authority that it was considered, weighed, and distinctly approved by the President's advisers at that time.

The Cabinet was then composed of John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State; William H. Crawford, of Georgia, Secretary of the Treasury; John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War; Samuel L. Southard, Secretary of the Navy, and William Wirt, Attorney-General.

Henry Clay, then Speaker of the House of Representatives, offered a joint resolution, which gave a legislative indorsement to President Monroe's declarations, and the debates at either end of the Capitol show in what high estimation the doctrine was held by the leading Senators and Representatives. Its promulgation was regarded as a new departure for our Republic. John C. Calhoun said later in life, Jan. 14, 1846, that "no man can view with stronger feelings of indignation than I do the im-

proper interference of European powers with the nations of this continent."

Daniel Webster said, in his great speech, April 11, 1826, on the Panama congress :

I concur entirely with the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Hemphill) that this declaration of Mr. Monroe was wise, seasonable and patriotic.

James Buchanan declared that —

This declaration was reëchoed by millions of freemen; it was received with enthusiasm in every part of the Union; it answered the purpose for which it was intended.

Even the liberal statesmen of England acquiesced in the principles promulgated by Mr. Monroe. The prime minister of Great Britain, Mr. Canning, one of the most enlightened statesmen of his age, used the following language :

It concerned the United States, under aspects and interests as immediate and commanding as it did or could any of the states of Europe. They were the first power on that continent, and evidently the leading power. They were connected with Spanish America by their position, as they were with Europe by their relations; and they also stood connected with those new states by political relations. Was it possible they could see with indifference their fate decided only by Europe? Could Europe expect such indifference? Had no new epoch arrived in the relative position of the United States toward Europe which Europe must acknowledge? Were the great political and commercial interests which hang upon the destinies of the new continent to be canvassed and judged in this hemisphere (Europe) without the coöperation or even knowledge of the United States?

This Monroe doctrine, Mr. President, has never lost its hold upon the pride and patriotic affections of the American people. Again and again has it been cited by our Secretaries of State, in defense of our national diplomatic positions, and referred to by our diplomatists as defining our line of duty. In 1853, when Louis Napoleon was strengthening his newly-erected throne by restoring the martial glories of the French Empire, the venerable General Cass, then a United States Senator, thus alluded to the feeling entertained toward the United States in Europe, as a sign of the times worthy of serious consideration :

We cannot —

Said the veteran statesman of Michigan —

disguise from ourselves that our progress and prospects, while they are a reproach to many of the governments of the Old World, have excited their enmity by the contrasts they exhibit, and by the dangerous example they offer to the oppressed masses, inviting them to do as we have done, and to become free as we are free. He who does not know that there is not a government in Europe which is a friend to our institutions has much to learn of the impression that our past, our present, and our probable future are producing among them. But what we have to apprehend is, plans for arresting our extent and prosperity, the seizure of positions by which we might be annoyed and circumscribed, and the creation of an influence, of schemes of policy offering powerful obstacles to our future advancement.

In ten years from the utterance of this prediction it was fulfilled by the appearance of French troops in Mexico, to support the government of the ill-starred Maximilian. The Hon. William H. Seward, then Secretary of State, protested vigorously against this armed interference in the politics of our sister republic; and he also opposed a scheme for establishing a colony in Mexico by Dr. William M. Gwin and associates, which he asserted "the United States government could not look upon with satisfaction, as martial or political enemies on the opposite banks of the Rio Grande." If it was true that the people of this country would not tolerate a colony in Mexico, can it be possible that they will permit the European powers, or any company under European protection or influence, to construct and control an inter-oceanic canal across the Isthmus, which would be so useful in times of peace, and so indispensable in times of war? The establishment of such a great public work in such a manner would be fatal to the preservation and development of those American ideas on which are founded the hopes of the social welfare and the enlightened progress of the entire continent of North America.

Congress should act upon this grave question without delay, ere any foreign power makes a demonstration for the control of the inter-oceanic canal; and a grave responsibility will rest upon us should we now abandon to the chance of circumstances the maintenance of our supremacy of this continent. In adopting such a joint resolution as I have had the honor to present, the United States government will exercise a right incontestably belonging to it, will sustain the honor of the Republic, will advance the cause of progressive, civil, and religious liberty, and will receive the support of the people. We have had enough of internal agitation and of sectional strife. Let us now reaffirm and stand by the Monroe doctrine, which can but meet the sympathy and the conviction not only of the true-hearted citizens of this Republic, but of the lovers of liberty throughout the world.

I now, Mr. President, withdraw my motion to relieve the committee from the further consideration of this resolution.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The motion of the Senator from Rhode Island is withdrawn.

This speech naturally created a profound sensation, both at home and abroad. During the war for the suppression of the Rebellion, Louis Napoleon had invaded the sister Republic of Mexico, subverted her government, and established a military despotism there, under the nominal rule of an Austrian prince. The National Republi-

can Convention, and the House of Representatives, had urged the re-assertion of the Monroe doctrine, and the people of the United States had hailed with delight the maintenance of the long-settled, well-approved diplomatic policy of the revolutionary fathers. Under the Monroe doctrine, the French had been forced to retire from Mexico, and a republican government had been reestablished there. Now that an inter-oceanic canal was projected, it was desirable that the time-honored diplomatic policy of the past should be reestablished.

Although General Burnside was warmly attached to West Point, he was very indignant when he learned how Cadet Whittaker had been mutilated there. When a bill came up providing for the appointment of colored cadets by the President, he advocated giving him the power to appoint. He had, he said, endeavored the preceding year to have the restrictions of color in the army partially removed, and he knew that Senator Bruce, with other leading colored men, agreed with him, but recent events at the military academy had induced him to change his opinion. West Point, he said, was a national institution, and no class of citizens should be excluded. At the North, where cadets are appointed by competitive examination, the small number of colored youth have but little chance of appointment; and at the South, where there are so many colored people, few, if any, of the young men possess sufficient education to pass the requisite examination. It was therefore well that the President should appoint some of the colored race, and if they cannot be protected in their studies, he, for one, would advocate abolishing the institution. He spoke as a graduate of the military academy, attached to his Alma Mater, who wished to see it removed from the obloquy which rested upon it.

A bill providing for placing on the retired list non-commissioned officers after thirty years of faithful service, received from General Burnside a hearty support. Senator Beck, of Kentucky, in opposing the bill, suggested that "as there is no more arduous service than to serve in the Senate of the United States, it might be well to pension Senators who had served faithfully for thirty years." General Burnside sprang to his feet, and replied :

I will answer that a Senator who has served here for nearly thirty years has had one-half of his time to attend to his own business, and can have all the time he wants to attend to it. The Senator from Kentucky can go before the Supreme Court of the United States and plead a case to-morrow, and charge a fee of \$10,000 and put it in his pocket. But the cases are not parallel. Senators of the United States seek their positions. During the late war, when the authority and integrity of the government were in danger, we did not have to beg Senators to serve, saying, "For God's sake come and serve in the Senate of the United States, and we will give you a bounty." Far from that. Senators have always sought their places of the people; but you asked and begged and implored men to go to the field to fight for the life of the country. They went, and took their lives in their hands, and promises were made, not only by the National Legislature, but by state legislatures, some of which promises have not been fulfilled.

But, Mr. President, I am the last man who should make a personal complaint, because I have received from the general government and from the people of my state a great deal more than I have deserved. But promises have been made to the soldiers which have not yet been fulfilled, after we had begged them to go to the field, and offered all kinds of inducements to go. It is to the interest of this government to have an efficient army, and what we must look to when legislating for the army is not so much what their services are worth in dollars and cents, as how to keep up the *esprit du corps* in the army.

In committee I was in favor of putting private soldiers on, and am now, but it was thought best by the committee to make this start. The retired list created by this bill will be very small, as very few non-commissioned officers live to serve thirty or thirty-five years. These men could not have remained on duty and served as non-commissioned officers for thirty years without being good men, faithful men, industrious men; brave men; and the same amount of industry, faithfulness, and bravery in civil life would have given them competencies of some sort, in

all probability. They are unable to take care of themselves now; and here we are higgling at the passage of a law which will put probably sixty or one hundred of them on the retired list. We were not actuated by such feelings when the country was in danger. We would gladly have promised this and ten times as much, forty times as much, yea, a thousand times as much, if it had been necessary, to fill up our army.

I am in favor of the bill in all its parts, and I am in favor of extending it to private soldiers, and I am free to say again that the bill pensioning civil employés, if reported by a proper committee, will receive my support as I feel now. I shall vote for it if it is properly brought before the Senate, because I think it is a just bill, and under it we would have better service, more honest service, than we have now. There would be less fighting for office. Men would not seek positions which are already filled by competent persons; they would go about their business on their farms, in their work-shops, or in the mercantile walks of life, and allow the men who have obtained clerkships in public offices to remain in their positions until retired by old age. I know this is not the popular doctrine, but it is my doctrine. I do not mean to say absolutely that it is right, but I think it is right. I would advise no friend of mine to become an office-seeker. Public employment in the departments does not give so much happiness as private employment. As to elective offices, the people will govern them wisely and rotate at pleasure.

On the 8th of June, 1880, the General Assembly of the State of Rhode Island reëlected General Burnside to fill a second term in the United States Senate, commencing on the 4th of March, 1881. The vote of the Senate was: A. E. Burnside, 25; George A. Browne, 7; Charles C. Van Zandt, 2. The vote of the House was: A. E. Burnside, 54; George H. Browne, 9; Charles C. Van Zandt, 2; J. Lewis Diman, 1; William P. Sheffield, 1. On the following day, the two houses met in joint assembly, and it appearing that Ambrose E. Burnside had received a majority of the votes of each house, he was declared duly elected Senator.

Artillery salutes were fired at Bristol and at Providence in honor of General Burnside's reëlection, and a banquet given by his friends at Providence was attended by the

members of the General Assembly and a number of prominent citizens. The general, who was at Washington, was the recipient of hundreds of letters and telegrams from all parts of the country, congratulating him.

The president of the Senate, *pro tempore*, announced on the 3d of June, that he had received the credentials of Ambrose E. Burnside, chosen by the General Assembly of Rhode Island a Senator from that State. They were received and placed on file.





CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE FITZ JOHN PORTER CASE—ENDOWMENT OF AN EDUCATIONAL FUND BY THE SALES OF PUBLIC LANDS—PENSION LAWS AND PENSIONERS—MONUMENTS ON REVOLUTIONARY BATTLE-FIELDS—MORAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE IN SCHOOLS—WATCHFUL ATTENTION TO SENATORIAL BUSINESS.

THE third session of the Forty-sixth Congress was commenced on the 6th of December, 1880. The next week a bill was taken up, for consideration, relieving Gen. Fitz John Porter from a disability of disfranchisement and incapacity to hold office, as imposed by sentence of court-martial, and at the same time authorizing the President to restore him to the army. On this bill a long and animated debate ensued, which was closed by General Burnside. He had presented a minority report in the case, with an amendment giving General Porter a new trial by court-martial. In conclusion he said :

Courts-martial, Mr. President, although sometimes harsh in their sentences, are proverbially fair. They are not confined strictly to the rules of evidence. Judge-advocates are not allowed to browbeat and confuse witnesses. The members of the court almost always are of sufficient intelligence to determine when a witness is telling the truth, and there is no necessity for the cross-questioning which lawyers resort to in civil trials. They are not confined to precise rules and maxims of law in making up evidence. They make their verdicts more from the equities of the case,

or rather from the animus of the parties concerned in relation to the points at issue. It is sometimes thought that they are led to the condemnation of men upon light evidence, but you will always find behind that there is something or other in the record of the man which justifies the court in making the offence for which he is tried an excuse for giving him what may appear to be a harsh punishment. The *esprit de corps* which makes a good army makes it necessary for courts to take the daily walks of a man's life into consideration in making up a sentence against him. Such is not the case at all, or to any great extent, before civil courts. A man's character is only considered in the mitigation of sentences. Many lawyers, and eminent lawyers, too, have given an opinion as to the propriety and justice of the sentence in this case, but they have given their opinion in very much the same way as they would give an opinion as to the violation of a contract. They have looked at all the legal points in the case, and have said that in their view General Porter fulfilled his contract.

Well, now there is no such condition of affairs as that existing in the life of a soldier. A soldier is not only bound to obey all the orders that are given to him, but he is bound to use his best efforts to promote the cause for which he is fighting. He is bound at all times to show alacrity, to show coöperation, and to smother any feeling of distrust which he may have of his superior officers. He is certainly bound at all events to speak of them in respectful terms, and to yield to them a respectful and loyal obedience. When he undertakes to disobey an order, or undertakes to judge for himself as to how far he shall carry out an order, then he subjects himself surely to criticism, possibly to punishment, and the animus of his conduct becomes a legitimate subject of examination, not only by the people and the country for which he is fighting, but by any court which may be ordered to try him; and if the service in which he is engaged is of sufficient importance to stir the hearts of a great people, then if he fails in doing what they consider to be a loyal service, he must expect to receive the punishment which the hearts of that loyal people say he ought to receive at that time, and it is not fair that he should in time of profound peace, when the excitement of the people has cooled off, and their patriotism is to a certain extent at rest, ask them in their leniency to forgive him for what he did in a time when his whole heart should have been in their service. Therefore, Mr. President, I do not regard the opinion of these lawyers—and I say this with all due respect to them and to their course—I do not regard their opinion as worth anything to me in making up my mind as to whether this sentence was just or unjust. As I have said before, I would be glad to have General Porter tried now by thirteen intelligent officers of the army. That is surely the most that he can ask. I will say again, Mr.

President, that there is a great difference between fulfilling contracts of a civil nature in times of profound peace, when it is understood that all business men have the right to look to their own interests, and when they have a right to take all fair legitimate mercantile advantage of each other in order to make gain in trade or to make advancement in politics, and the contract which a soldier makes with the country to do his duty in the field, when the liberties or the safety of that country are in jeopardy.

Ask me, Mr. President, to believe that men who had been educated by the government of the United States, and were officers in the regular army at the breaking out of the Rebellion, threw up their commissions and went with the armies of the South because they believed that their allegiance to their states was paramount to their allegiance to the Union—ask me to believe that they have come back into this Union with upright intention and with loyalty in which we can be confident—ask me to believe that all the officers and soldiers of the Confederate army felt that they were fighting for a just cause—but ask me not to believe that General Porter, during the last days of August, 1862, did not think more of the interests and the advancement of one man than he did of the welfare of the Republic.

The Senate voted down the proposition of General Burnside that General Porter have a new trial by court-martial, and passed a bill authorizing the President to re-appoint him to the army. For want of time, no action was taken on the bill by the House of Representatives at that session.

On the 15th of December, 1880, General Burnside called up in the Senate the bill which he had reported from the Committee on Education and Labor, which consecrated the proceeds of sales of public lands to the education of the people. In a few introductory remarks he said :

Mr. President, it is not claimed by the friends of this bill that it is of great magnitude, or that the results of its passage will be very great in the direction of aid to the educational interests of the country; but we claim that it is a step in the right direction. We believe it to be for the best interests of the country that government should aid in the education of the people to the fullest possible extent that the Constitution will allow. Congress certainly has the right to give to the States the proceeds of the sales of public lands and the surplus revenue of the Patent

Office in such manner as it may deem wise. This bill contemplates the distribution of these funds according to the numbers of residents of the states, of ten years old and upwards, who cannot read and write; that is, two-thirds of the amount to be so distributed, and one-third for the more complete endowment and support of colleges.

The bill provides proper methods to insure the safe and equitable distribution of the funds, all of which will be discussed and explained by friends of the bill. As I said we believe that it is the duty of the government to provide in every possible constitutional way for the education of the people, particularly as to the elementary branches. I am in favor of going much further in that direction than this bill contemplates, and it is my belief that at no distant day it will be deemed proper by Congress to take more advanced steps in this direction.

I believe that after the public debt shall have been reduced to a sum which would seem to warrant the reduction of internal taxes, they should still be continued on spirits and tobacco, and the proceeds of these taxes devoted to educational purposes, and I believe it will be found that as the people advance in education they will be better able to reason themselves into the belief that the use of these products is detrimental to themselves individually, and to the community at large. A very striking illustration of what can be done for a community by education is portrayed by Macauley, in a speech delivered by him in the House of Commons in April, 1847. Mr. President, I believe that the passage of this bill will result in great good to the country. The people that it will aid in learning to read will find companions in books instead of going to grog-shops and saloons for them.

The bill was earnestly debated, some of the Senators, some of whom regarded the proceeds of the sales of land as public property, not being willing that they should be used up for the purposes of a single generation. Others said that if the fund was given directly to the states, as an amendment proposed, it would enter into their local politics, ascending or descending with their political barometers, and proving an evil, instead of a benefit. General Burnside "engineered" the bill with great discretion, and finally secured its passage, without obnoxious amendments, by the decisive vote of forty-one yeas against six nays—twenty-nine Senators being absent or paired. Just before

the final vote was taken, Senator McDonald, of Indiana, expressed his regret that he could not vote for the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands for educational purposes, as he did not approve of some of the features of the bill. "Mr. President," said General Burnside, "the friends of this bill can very well afford to wait until the time elapses to let it demonstrate itself. If the Senator from Indiana lives as long as I hope he will live, he will feel very proud of the action of Congress in the adoption of this bill, if it passes both houses."

When the annual bill making appropriations for the payment of pensions during the ensuing fiscal year came before the Senate, an amendment was proposed, creating boards for the detection of fraud. Objections were raised against this additional power, especially by General Logan, who asserted that there were but few dishonest pensioners, and that the Commissioner of Pensions already possessed ample power for the detection of frauds.

General Burnside dissented, and said that the commissioner possessed no power to detect originally. "There is," he went on to say, "a great aversion on the part of every fair man to giving information. I have had my attention called, and the Senator no doubt has had his attention called, to people who were 'dead beats,' who were not entitled to pensions. I never wrote to the Commissioner of Pensions about such a case; but on two or three occasions I told the people to write the commissioner. There is great aversion to giving information of that kind. If the Commissioner of Pensions had men identified with these communities who felt it to be their duty to see that honest soldiers were protected by the punishment of dishonest ones, there would be much more probability of the Commissioner of Pensions being able to do his duty by

seeking out the fraudulent pensioners." Quite an excited discussion ensued, in which some sharp words were used, each general protesting that he had not lost his temper, but was in perfectly good humor.

General Burnside was especially interested in the passage of a bill under which any association, having in view the commemoration of a Revolutionary battle-field, would be authorized, under well-guarded provisions, to apply directly for a sum of money from the treasury equal to the amount which such patriotic association had itself raised and paid in. Opposition was made by Mr. Cockrell, of Missouri, to the bill, as a direct reflection on the living and the dead. "It was," he said, "a reflection upon the intelligence and patriotism of the illustrious men who have filled the halls of Congress since 1880, and a reflection on the American people to-day, as so unpatriotic and void of intelligence that they cannot cherish the memory of the battle-fields of the Revolution unless Congress taxes them to build senseless, feelingless monuments of marble or statues of bronze, to remind them of those thrilling scenes and events." General Burnside said in reply :

I will say in answer to the Senator from Missouri that we are doing a great many things at this centennial period that Clay and Webster and Calhoun and Benton never thought of doing, and that there was no occasion for doing while they were in public service. At this particular period of our history, the centennial period, we should be moved to take a great many patriotic steps. Sir, I feel it my duty to do something to make Americans feel that they have a government, and therefore I do not feel that I am showing any disrespect whatever to Clay, Calhoun, Webster, and Benton by offering at this centennial period my humble service in the direction in which this bill points.

Now, in regard to the disrespect to the living by indicating by this bill that there is a lack of patriotism in this country at this time, I will say that I am willing to take my share of the responsibility of making that indication. I think if we can by any means stimulate and increase the patriotism of our people it is our duty to do so. I think it is at a low

ebb; I believe we are thinking too much of the affairs of every-day life, too much of ourselves, and if we can think a little more of the public good, it will be better for the country and for all of us. I speak for myself, the temptation is to think only of what immediately surrounds us, what is best for our personal interests, what most conserves our comfort, and I think if I can be inspired with more patriotism than I have had, it will be a very fortunate thing for me, and a fortunate thing for the work I am trying to do as a public servant. I think if we say to any community that will raise \$10,000, "We will give you \$10,000 to enable you to erect a Revolutionary monument," we shall have done a very wise thing. There are probably not over half a dozen places in the United States where monuments will be erected.

I differ *in toto* with the Senator from Missouri on all the points he makes. It is no disrespect to men of the past for us to do things they were not called upon to do. On the semi-centennial anniversary of the birth of our Nation, men and communities were moved to great rejoicing; and at this centennial period it becomes doubly our duty to interest ourselves in all the pageants, displays, and patriotic enactments and work which tend to inspire patriotism. I do not think the patriotism of the country is of such high type as to make it entirely unnecessary for us to stimulate it by all legitimate methods.

General Burnside was very careful in looking after bills entrusted to him in committee for the relief of private claimants, and never failed to have a written report on each case prepared for presentation to the committee in season to have it reported by the committee to Congress. He was equally attentive to the business of his constituents,—and many who resided in other states,—in the executive departments. Every Saturday morning, when the Senate had adjourned over from Friday until Monday, he would (as he used to remark) "go the grand rounds" of the departments, with a large bundle of papers. When he had once presented a claim, he used to follow it up, supplying new evidence when it was necessary, and insisting upon it being promptly examined.

Late in the session, the bill providing for the introduction of moral and social science into the public schools of

the District of Columbia (see chapter xxxiv.), was reached on the calendar. Senator Whyte, of Maryland, asked for an explanation of the bill, and General Burnside promptly gave it, saying :

The necessity arises, in my opinion, from the lack of that sort of teaching in the public schools which is contemplated by the bill. I have had letters from a great many teachers who conduct the most important private schools in the country, stating that this mode of instruction has been adopted with great success. It certainly can do no harm to the teachers and pupils to devote five or ten minutes a day to instruction of this kind. The committee thought that once a week would do to start with. I think once a day would be better. If children can be taught that it is much better to be cleanly than not so; much better to be honest than dishonest; much better to be truthful than untruthful, and if such virtues can be impressed upon them once a week, or once a day, for five or ten minutes, great good will result in time to both the children and teachers.

The provisions of the bill apply to the District of Columbia, and no further, because we have no right to go further. I think it is an experiment we can well try, and, if found not to be useful in future, the measure can be very easily repealed.

I think none of us have ever suffered from any such teaching received in our youth, but many of us have suffered from a lack of such teaching. It can do young people no harm to have the social and moral virtues explained and impressed upon them by their teachers, and it will do the teachers no harm to train themselves in exercises of that kind; in fact, I think it will be a great benefit to both teachers and pupils.

Senator Whyte asked why the fourth section of the bill had been stricken out? That section provided: "That emulation shall be cherished between the pupils in accumulating thoughts and facts in regard to the noble traits possible, and in illustrating them by their daily conduct," and Senator Whyte said that "if there was anything in the world that ought to be encouraged, it should be emulation among the pupils at a school." General Burnside replied: "So I think, but it was thought best by the committee to strike it out; but all the essential features of

the bill are retained. I think the committee were a little afraid it would excite the ridicule of the people. Now, I am not afraid of ridicule. As long as I feel that I am right, it is a matter of no consequence to me how much people may laugh at anything I may do. If I am satisfied that I am right and moving in the right direction, and trying to do something to benefit my friends and neighbors, people can laugh as much as they please. I am not afraid of that paragraph of the bill myself. It does not affect the duties that the bill imposes on teachers or on children, and therefore I did not strenuously object to having it struck out as long as the principle of the bill was retained." The Senate refused to strike out the amendment, and the bill was passed.

General Burnside scrutinized every bill that came before the Senate, especially those which disposed of the public domain. At the close of the last session of the Forty-sixth Congress, a bill granting a railroad company the right of way through the Indian Territory was opposed by him, because he regarded it, as he said, "an unwise thing to be compelled to vote on such an important bill, without having had time to examine it."





CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE EXECUTIVE SESSION—TURN OF THE POLITICAL WHEEL. OF
FORTUNE—COMMITTEE SERVICE—ACRIMONIOUS DEBATE IN
THE SENATE—RESTORATION OF HARMONY—SUFFRAGE IN
RHODE ISLAND—REPORT ON THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

THE Senate of the United States was called together in executive session on Friday, the 4th of March, 1881. The President-elect, General Garfield, the retiring President, Mr. Hayes, the Diplomatic Corps, the Supreme Court, officers of the army and navy, and other distinguished personages were on the floor of the Senate Chamber. Prominent among the ladies in the galleries, were General Garfield's wife and his mother, whose faces beamed with pride and enjoyment—so soon, alas! to be changed to mourning and grief.

General Burnside, with sixteen other Senators, took the "iron-clad oath," as administered by Vice-President Arthur, while six Senators who had served in the Confederate army took the "modified oath." General Burnside never appeared in better health, or to greater advantage,

than on this occasion. Tall, erect, elegantly yet strongly made, his aspect was commanding; the expression of his eyes indicating resolution, while he would occasionally glance at persons with whom he was conversing, as if anxious to read what was passing in their minds; a general look of good-temper and fairness pervaded his features, and his whiskers, then snow-white, but of the same cut that he adopted before he entered the academy at West Point, gave him a paternal, if not patriarchal air.

It was to him a great source of satisfaction that the wheel of political fortune had so far revolved as to enable the Republican Senators to again control the committees, which had been taken from them by the Democrats with a flourish of trumpets two years previous.

But the change had to be postponed. General Garfield having appointed Senators Blaine, Windom, and Kirkwood as members of his Cabinet, it became necessary for them to resign their seats in the Senate, and the Republicans were consequently deprived of a majority until their successors were elected or appointed. This was done at the earliest day, and on the 18th of March, some stormy debates having meanwhile occurred, the Republicans were again placed in possession of the committees of the Senate after a tie vote, by a casting vote of Vice-President Arthur.

General Burnside was made chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, one of the most responsible and important on the long list, and he had associated with him Senators Conkling, Edmunds, Miller, Ferry, Johnston, Morgan, Hill of Georgia, and Pendleton. He was also second on the Committee on Military Affairs, and third on the Committee on Education and Labor.

The contest then arose on the election of secretary, sergeant-at-arms, and several of the principal clerks, the

offices being filled by Democrats, elected when that party had an effective preponderance of votes in the Senate. Senator Mahone, of Virginia, elected as a "Readjuster," had nominated a personal and political friend of his, Mr. Riddelberger (afterwards elected U. S. Senator), for the office of sergeant-at-arms, but the Democrats refused to permit the election, intimating that there had been a fraudulent bargain. This charge, General Burnside vigorously denied. When he felt he could no longer refrain from taking the floor, he said :



PRESIDENT GARFIELD.

Mr. President, I have been silent during this debate, but when I noticed in the papers of this morning a statement that I was one of the conservatives who rather advocated in the Republican caucus yesterday that we should back down, I thought I would take occasion to say that I have no right to tell what I did say in caucus, but I have a right to tell what I did not say, and I now tell you, Mr. President, that I have no disposition to back any on the present issue, nor have I ever had any. As long as I live I will never, by any act of mine, consent to the adoption of any act or rule which recognizes the theory that the majority does not rule in this country. The principle that the majority must rule lies at the very foundation of the theory of our government.

The duty which we are trying to do now is a constitutional duty. The Constitution of the United States says we shall elect our officers. I would have been glad, had the present officers been left in their places. I would be glad, indeed, if the other side would admit the right of the majority to rule, to yield them the chairmanship of my committee. Mr. President, I would not hold the chairmanship of my committee if I felt that I held it in an improper way.

Mr. President, I have not thirsted for this fight, and I have never felt like going for the scalps of the present officers of the Senate. I felt, very impressively, the mistake made by the majority of the Senate two years ago, when they made a clean sweep of the elective officers of this body, and I resisted it as long as I thought it right and proper to resist, and then I not only gave in myself, but I counseled others to give in, because I felt that the majority should rule, and they became responsible for the results. I do not claim that the majority then inflicted any great wrong upon us, or upon the public service. They gave us officers who have performed their duties honestly and intelligently. These officers have kept many of the Republican employes in the service of the Senate whose appointment or retention depended on them. I think they were wise in pursuing this course. But it is a fact that the Democratic majority removed every elective officer of this body. I have felt no disposition to dismiss those officers. But, Mr. President, a precedent was established then which I shall observe as long as I am in the Senate, unless by common consent it shall be reversed. It was decided then that the majority had a right to change the chairmen of committees and officers of the Senate whenever they desired to. To that precedent I shall bow, as long as I am a member of the Senate, until some other course of action is taken by general consent of the two parties. When it shall be agreed that all efficient officers shall remain in our service during good behavior, I will hail the decision with great delight.

Mr. President, when the committees were turned over to the Republicans, they received them from the hands of the Democrats, and with their acquiescence. If we secured the committees by fraud, the Democrats are guilty of fraud, because they were participants, they were accessories to the fraudulent act by which we obtained possession. They have no right to shield themselves in the position they are in now and say they are not guilty of fraud. If we obtained these committees by fraud they are guilty of fraud, because they could have kept us from getting them, just as they are now preventing the election of officers by the majority. There is no getting behind that.

The debate waxed warm. General Burnside declared that no fraud had been committed, and for one, he would sit in his seat for the remainder of his term without transacting one particle of public business, before he would consent to any fraudulent bargain in the election of officers; neither would he consent to the obstruction of business by gentlemen on the other side. "I say for myself," said he,

“that I will sit here to the end of my term, before I will consent to be governed by a minority, and I believe, as much as I believe there is a God, that we are fairly in the majority.” He proceeded to question Senator Hill, of Georgia. “Does he,” said General Burnside, “believe there is a single Senator on this side of the chamber who would accept a chairmanship of a committee that had been assigned to him by fraud, or would engage in a fraudulent transaction of that kind? Now, sir, I want to know that; and if there is such an one, I want to know who he is.” Mr. Hill, after some parleying, evaded a reply, saying that he would not ask General Burnside whether he in his conscience believed that there was any Senator on the Democratic side who would be a party to a bargain, or would accept the profits of a bargain. He went on to intimate that if the matter should be brought before a jury he felt confident that the Democrats would get a verdict of guilty.

“The Senator’s great powers before a jury,” said General Burnside, “are well known to the whole country, and I am not disposed in the least degree to depreciate them. I will venture to say that he can get a verdict of a jury that I cannot. He possesses great skill and power before a jury, and he has experience in pleading causes. I am not arguing on that position; I am not a lawyer; I am arguing as a plain citizen of the United States, and as a Senator, and as such I say that I would make no such charge in reference to that side of the chamber, unless I felt that I could prove it. It is a grave charge, and if true, we on this side are in the position of felons, occupying chairmanships of committees which do not belong to us.” As the debate went on, and the Democrats began to “fillibuster,” it was intimated by their speakers that they were following the example set them by the Republicans at the end of the

last session of Congress. This General Burnside denied, stating that he did not propose to sit under an imputation of that kind without contradicting it. Said he :

The Senator from Kentucky knows very well that there were Democratic votes withheld at that time, and it was simply for the purpose of aiding some friends on this side of the chamber to defeat certain nominations which were distasteful to them. The country had just as well know that. It was not a partisan matter at all. Some of our friends here desired to defeat certain nominations made by the late President, because they were not in accord with their views. They solicited aid from both sides of the chamber, and they received aid from both sides of the chamber. I myself left the chamber once or twice, because I felt bad to sit here and not vote. It seems the Senator from Massachusetts acted in perfect good faith with himself, and either was absent or paired all the time. So we did not vote as a party, and we did not pair in that matter as Republicans and Democrats; we paired as friends to those appointments and as opposed to them, and I now say here that to my absolute knowledge Democrats on that side of the chamber withheld their votes.

This is a partisan affair, and we are voting every man or pairing every man, and we clearly stand before the country in that light. I announce that I am going with my party, and you announce that you are going with your party. I say distinctly and positively that the action to which the Senator from Kentucky refers, and which has been so often quoted on this floor, was not a partisan affair in any sense. No man thought it was a partisan affair at that time. It was simply a question as to whether we would aid some of our friends on this side of the chamber to defeat some nominations which President Hayes sent to the Senate. That was the question and the only question.

As the debate proceeded it grew warmer, and finally, when Mr. Butler, of South Carolina, said that the real question was whether there had been "a disgraceful bargain in the Senate, by which the offices of the Senate are proposed to be turned over to somebody else," the general could stand it no longer, and the following sharp colloquy ensued :

MR. BURNSIDE. It is as to whether a majority shall rule or not.

MR. BUTLER. No, sir.

Mr. BURNSIDE. That is the question. That is it to a dot.

Mr. BUTLER. That has nothing to do with it.

Mr. BURNSIDE. I say there has been no bargain; and any man who says there has been says what is false. That is the doctrine. I say any man who says that says what is false.

Mr. BUTLER. The Senator from Rhode Island of course may characterize it as false as much as he pleases.

Mr. BURNSIDE. I do, distinctly and positively.

Mr. BUTLER. I say, inasmuch as the Senator has seen fit to say that—no I will not say it in this chamber——

Mr. BURNSIDE. Say anything. I declare that any man who says there has been a bargain says what is false. That is the argument exactly. Now the Senator from South Carolina can say what he likes.

Mr. BUTLER. No, sir.

Mr. BURNSIDE. He can say just what he likes. I say it is false, false, false, in every word and every letter. I have heard this thing long enough, Mr. President, and I do not as an honorable man propose to sit here and listen to it any longer. I declare that any man who says there has been a bargain on this side of the chamber with anybody, a corrupt bargain, tells a falsehood.

Mr. BUTLER. Of course the Senator from Rhode Island has a perfect right to say what he pleases.

Mr. BURNSIDE. I will say what I know to be the fact.

Mr. BUTLER. I shall not be betrayed into any excitement.

Mr. BURNSIDE. Not a bit; I am not the least bit excited. I am just giving emphasis to what I propose to say.

Mr. BUTLER. I see that the Senator is uncommonly equable.

Mr. BURNSIDE. I am in perfect good humor and perfectly calm. Mr. President, I beg pardon for talking in my seat.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER, (Mr. Ferry in the chair.) The Chair will remind Senators that they must address the Chair. The Chair cannot recognize Senators unless they address the Chair.

Mr. BURNSIDE. I shall do so in the future.

Mr. BUTLER. I congratulate the Senator from Rhode Island for being cool. I am delighted to see him so cool.

Mr. BURNSIDE. I did not talk quite so loud as the Senator from South Carolina—I simply wanted to drown his voice—but I reiterate my statement that any man who says there has been a bargain on this side of the chamber says what is false.

Mr. BUTLER. That is another case of coolness which I shall not discuss with the Senator here. I have not the slightest idea of doing it. I shall not be betrayed upon this floor into any language which is unparliamentary to begin with, I hope, but I want to say to the Senator from

Rhode Island, and I want to say to all the other Senators upon that side of the chamber who adopt the tactics which the Senator has adopted, if he supposes by the use of such language as that he can deter me from the full, complete, unqualified discussion of a public act, the Senator is simply mistaken.

Mr. BURNSIDE. Will the Senator allow me to say that I do not think there is a member on this floor who would say for one moment that I desire to deter any man from anything like a fair discussion? I merely mean to meet this charge that has been so often made on that side of the chamber, and that has stirred me to the very bottom of my soul every time it has been made, and which I know to be false. I merely mean to say that any man who makes that statement states what is false; that is all. I do not want to check discussion; I am delighted to hear all Senators on that side of the chamber, and every man knows it. There is not a man on that side of the chamber who does not know that I am delighted to have him get up and indulge in fair debate; but not on a little suspicion that is running around through the air, for one Senator to get up and talk about a corrupt bargain. Does the Senator suppose that there is any man on this side of the chamber who would engage in a corrupt bargain? Does any one on that side of the chamber suppose there is a man on this side of the chamber who would engage in a corrupt bargain? If we would not engage in a corrupt bargain, how can there be such a bargain? As I said the other day, I do not think there is a man on that side of the chamber who would be guilty of going into a corrupt bargain. Not one; not a single man of you would be guilty of corruption. I do not like to hear such things.

My friend knows the high regard I have for him. There is no man in the Senate Chamber for whom I have a higher personal regard on either side than I have for the Senator; but I do say this thing ought to stop. I do not say it must stop, because I cannot stop it, but I say it ought to stop; that in all decency, in all propriety, in all honesty, in all fair dealing, the thing ought to stop. If you can bring the evidence, bring it and I will vote to expel any member of the Senate who has been guilty of any such thing. If the Senator from South Carolina, or any other Senator on that side, will move for the raising of a committee to investigate, and put every Senator on this floor upon oath, I will vote for the resolution, and so will every member on this side vote to call every single Senator before a committee and place him under oath. Mr. President, I do not say this thing must be stopped; I say it ought to be stopped, in all decency and fairness.

Mr. BUTLER. I am very much afraid the Senator from Rhode Island will lose his temper if he keeps on.

Mr. BURNSIDE. No, I am perfectly cool; I do not think I talked quite

so loudly as the Senator from South Carolina; I certainly did not talk as loudly as I have heard him talk on this floor.

MR. BUTLER. Precisely; but I hope if my voice jars upon the ears of my brother Senators they will bear with me.

MR. BURNSIDE. Not at all; I am always delighted to hear it.

MR. BUTLER. I am glad to hear that the Senator from Rhode Island is not shocked by what I have said.

MR. BURNSIDE. Not at all; I never was.

A day or two afterwards, Senator Beck, of Kentucky, referred to this debate, and intimated in a jocular way that if he took exceptions to anything that General Burnside might say, he might be shot. The general said in reply :

I am perfectly willing the Senator shall indulge in any jocose remarks in reference to me whenever he likes; I know they are always in good temper; but I want to say to him, and I want to say to the Senate, that it has never crossed my mind for one moment to charge upon any Senator upon this floor any personal dishonor or any personal bad intent toward me or any member on this side. All my remarks in debate were made in reference to general charges made on the other side of the chamber. I desired on that day to give, in the most emphatic way possible, a denial to the charge which had been made or insinuated upon that side, that there was a corrupt bargain on this side, and I desired to make the denial just as emphatic as the charge had been made, and I desired to impress on the country and on my constituents that that was an incorrect and false charge.

It was very far from my mind — as far as anything could be — to impute personal untruthfulness to anybody on that side of the chamber, much less the Senator from South Carolina (Mr. Butler), with whom my relations have been always of the most friendly nature, peculiarly so; and I would be the last man on this floor to impute to him any personal dishonor or any personal untruthfulness. Anybody, no matter who he is, anywhere in this country, who draws any other inference from what I then said, draws a wrong inference, and I do not think he is borne out by the language I used. My language was emphatic, and I intended it to be so; I meant it to be so. I was replying to a general charge made on that side of the chamber; and unfortunately for the Senator from South Carolina and myself, who are such good friends and who had never been in collision in debate before, we happened to be the two Senators to meet. It would have been as unfortunate in the case of any other Senator, because I have no disposition to get into an altercation with any Senator on that side of

the chamber or on this. When I want to bulldoze anybody, I will not take any Senator or either side of this chamber; I cannot put my mind on any Senator on either side of the chamber who would submit to it.

Another thing: when I want to make a personal imputation, I will go to the Senator or the man, whoever he is, and tell him personally that I do not think that he is speaking the truth; or that I think he is making a false charge. I did not mean to create any such impression on anybody's mind; but if I did it, I hope it will be removed.

Mr. Butler handsomely expressed his satisfaction with this disclaimer. "My relations," said he, "with the Senator from Rhode Island have always been friendly and kind. I know his kindness of heart is so pronounced that he is incapable of making a reflection on a brother Senator." Mr. Beck at once declared that if he had made a little blunder in making any suggestion about the Senator from Rhode Island, the feelings expressed by himself to the Senator from South Carolina had fully vindicated any mistake he might have made, by the restoration of entire harmony. Later in the debate General Burnside had a long running debate with Mr. Brown, of Georgia, who undertook to assert that some Republican newspapers had said that a corrupt or improper contract, or bargain, had been made to secure the offices of the Senate. Mr. Brown read successively extracts from a number of newspapers to prove his assertion, General Burnside insisting, as he proceeded, that not one of these journals was a Republican newspaper. Subsequently he remarked;

I said the other day that I did not think the Senator could produce any Republican papers that called this a corrupt bargain. I should not have been surprised if he had produced half a dozen, or ten, but he has not. I should not have been at all surprised if he could have produced a dozen or twenty that said this was a corrupt bargain, out of all the 3,000 Republican newspapers in the United States; but he has not produced one that calls it a corrupt bargain. He has produced articles from independent papers that squint that way,—that say it looks like a corrupt bargain, and Democrats have a right to think it is a corrupt bargain, and all that.

That is not a very bold way of talking, and it is indulged in a little too much in all parts of the country. We should all be better off if we did less of it. Now, I maintain that I was quite right in what I stated the other day that the Senator cannot show that the Republican press of this country thinks in the least degree that we have been guilty of a corrupt bargain.

In the course of this debate allusions were made to the elective franchise in Rhode Island, and General Burnside replied to those who had criticised the institutions of his State. He said :

Mr. President, within a very few days Rhode Island has received a vindication in this chamber from the senior Senator from the State (Mr. Anthony), which we are all willing to rest upon. We propose to manage our own affairs in our own way. We pass laws and obey them. The Republican party in Rhode Island is very largely in the majority, and as a rule all the contests in the State are between Republicans. We have bad men in our State in both parties, as is the case in all the states in the Union. Often when two Republicans get into a political contest each strives to win Democratic votes. Doubtless votes of corrupt men have been purchased. It was given in evidence before one of the committees referred to by the Senator from Kentucky that the principal part of the purchasable element of the State of Rhode Island is in the Democratic party. I make no such charge. In fact, I deny that any considerable portion of our citizens are corrupt in the exercise of the elective franchise. We are an old community, and, like all such, we have our native political excrescences. The proportion of foreign population to native-born is greater than any other state in the Union; and while I desire to say nothing against that portion of our people, it is but fair to say that they do not equal the natives of the State in their knowledge and appreciation of our institutions, for the simple reason that they are not familiar with them. Many of them are possessed of great intelligence and skill in their callings. They are with us, and are growing very rapidly in knowledge of our institutions, their children going to our schools, and are making good citizens. But I will say to the Senator from Kentucky that I believe our suffrage laws are good, as applied to our State with all attending circumstances. I was at one time a free-suffrage man; I disbelieved in the propriety of having a registry-tax for all non-tax-payers; I disbelieved in the propriety of having a real-estate qualification for foreign-born citizens; but I believe now that our present system is the wisest possible one for us to pursue, in view of all our surroundings. I would be glad to

see all foreign-born citizens who belonged to the Union army fully enfranchised in our State.

The resignations of the Senators from New York, Messrs. Conkling and Platt, having deprived the Republicans of their majority in the Senate, nothing remained but to consider the nominations made by the President, and adjourn. Before permitting the Senate to close, however, Senator Burnside, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, of which he was chairman, reported back a resolution by Senator Morgan which had been referred to it, with a written report. This report was read in the Senate, and listened to with marked attention, although it did not probably occur to any one that it would be the last document written by the junior Senator from Rhode Island. The report was as follows :

The Committee on Foreign Relations, to whom was referred the resolution on the construction of ship-canals across the Isthmus of Darien, having had the same under consideration, report :

That the subject embraced in the resolution is one of great national importance, and worthy of the most careful consideration. The resolution is as follows :

Resolved, That the interests of the people of the United States of America, and the welfare and security of their government, are so involved in the subject of construction of ship-canals and other ways for the transportation of sea-going vessels across the isthmus connecting North and South America, that the government of the United States, with the frankness which is due to all other peoples and governments, hereby asserts that it will insist that its consent is a necessary condition precedent to the execution of any such project; and also as to the rules and regulations under which other nations shall participate in the use of such canals or other ways, either in peace or in war.

This resolution was unanimously reported from the Committee on Foreign Relations by Hon. William W. Eaton, its chairman, at the last session of the Senate, but was not acted upon, for want of time, and was again brought before the Senate, at this session, by the Senator from Alabama (Mr. Morgan).

Certainly the United States cannot remain silent and acquiescing spectators and see any European government or corporation monopolize the control of a great route for the transportation of ships across the Isthmus of Darien. It is an affair of vital importance to those who dwell on

the Atlantic and on the Pacific coasts, as well as to the people of our whole country.

President Monroe, a wise and discreet man, announced, in a public message to Congress, in December, 1823, that "the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered subjects for future colonization by any European power." This declaration has since been known as the "Monroe doctrine," and while it does not directly apply to the construction of an inter-oceanic canal, the principle underlying it, which principle lies at the very foundation of our public welfare and safety, leads us to the announcement of the doctrine contained in this resolution.

This "Monroe doctrine" has received the public and official sanction of subsequent Presidents, as well as of a very large majority of the American people. At different times Great Britain has attempted to secure a foothold on the Isthmus of Darien, which it is now proposed to pierce with a canal, and each time she has been forced to abandon the project, so earnest and firm was the resistance offered by the government of the United States. Hon. Reverdy Johnson, who was the Attorney-General of President Taylor, thus alludes to one of these attempts to found a British colony on the isthmus, in a letter addressed to Hon. John M. Clayton, Dec. 30, 1853. "President Taylor," wrote Mr. Johnson, "has firmly resolved, by all constitutional measures in his power, to prevent such aggression, if any should be attempted, considering, as he did, that all the passages through the isthmus should be kept free, to enable us to retain our possessions in the Pacific."

By the passage of this resolution we simply serve a notice to the world that, in the opinion of the Senate of the United States, the peace, safety, and general welfare of this Republic require that it should be consulted concerning, and should have a voice in, the management of any canal or other way for the transportation of sea-going vessels across the Isthmus of Darien.

We do not express any doubts as to our rights, or suggest any reference of the subject to an international tribunal, because in this matter we are absolutely in the right. We simply ask nations who may directly or indirectly send their subjects, citizens, or capital to the isthmus, that they obtain the consent of the United States, as the power most directly interested, and that the rules and regulations for the government of this inter-oceanic highway be made acceptable to us, whose interests, in peace as in war, they will so materially affect.

Another reason for the passage of this resolution is, that companies have been and others may be formed for the construction of projected routes, which it is well known can never be successfully operated under

their present plans, and in which the money subscribed will be totally lost. Yet many of the subscribers have undoubtedly been lead to believe that the United States government approved — indirectly, if not directly — the scheme in which they have invested. This should not be. No one, at home or abroad, should be beguiled into the investment of accumulated property or of hard earnings by the belief that the government of the United States approved the project. A declaration by the Senate that the government would insist that its consent is a necessary condition-precedent to the execution of any such scheme, would be a warning to investors not to take any stock in any unauthorized enterprise. The honor of the country will thus be protected against accusations that its name led individuals, in this and other lands, to make investments which were to them total losses.

However we may be divided on political questions, and however we may wrangle on matters of domestic interest, the United States Senate has never failed, when a matter relating to foreign complications came before it, involving the general welfare and peace of the country, to stand shoulder to shoulder, and to assert what the public interests demanded.

We therefore recommend the passage of the resolution already published in this report.

There was a difference of opinion among Senators as to the propriety of acting on a question of this kind. The Constitution says that all legislative powers shall be vested in a Senate and a House of Representatives, the whole of them, not a part of them, and the same Constitution prevents either house from adjourning for a longer period than three days, and acting separately from the others. Congress alone has power to declare war, and Congress is composed of two houses. For that reason many Senators felt that such a resolution should not be passed without the concurrence of the House of Representatives, and it was consequently postponed until the first Monday in December. Before that day arrived, the Senator who had presented it lay still in death.



CHAPTER XXXVIII.

RETURN TO RHODE ISLAND—ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT GARFIELD—ACCIDENT—LAST HOURS—DEATH—RHODE ISLAND'S MOURNING—DEMONSTRATIONS OF RESPECT—FAREWELL TO "EDGHILL"—SERVICES AT BRISTOL—THE REMAINS LYING IN STATE AT PROVIDENCE.

GENERAL BURNSIDE, contrary to his usual custom, remained at Washington a few days after the adjournment of the Senate. He then went to "Edghill Farm," where he enjoyed the comforts and attractions of his rural home. His herd of Alderney cattle was increasing, land which he had reclaimed was bearing large crops; trees which he had planted were growing, and he greatly enjoyed being out with his workmen, especially when he was superintending some new improvement. He paid frequent visits to Providence, and would occasionally go to Newport, where he was a welcome guest. Sometimes he would enjoy a short excursion on Narragansett Bay in a beautiful steam-yacht, which was always placed at his disposal by Mr. Herreshoff, the celebrated blind constructor of these beautiful and fast craft.

He was greatly disturbed by the terrible news of General Garfield's assassination, and had at first hopes that the President might recover. The career of the two men had not been unlike. Each had known poverty when

young, and had earned his daily bread; each had served his country honorably during the war for the suppression of the Rebellion; and each one had received high civil honors from the people of his state. It was not strange that the two became intimate friends, and General Burnside was saddened by the news that the President, who had passed through battles unharmed, had fallen by the assassin's bullet. Little did he think that he would be the first of the two to pass away. Riding out one day in the vicinity of his farm, General Burnside's horse ran away, and he was thrown from his carriage with some force, jarring him and injuring one of his feet. This prevented his delivering the annual address, as he had expected, before the Aquidneck Agricultural Society, but he recovered his health sufficiently to enable him to accompany his friends, Senator Anthony and Judge Burges, of Providence, on a visit to Saratoga Springs. The water appeared to benefit him, and he returned to "Edghill Farm" in improved health, although occasionally he would complain.

On the 6th of September, 1881, General Burnside felt quite indisposed, and complained at times during the following days of that week, but it was Saturday night before he summoned his family physician, Dr. Barnes. On Sunday his nieces passed the day with him at "Edghill Farm," and Dr. Barnes paid him a visit. He did not appear seriously ill, or in any way alarmed about his condition, and those who saw him little dreamed that "the silver cord was soon to be loosed."

On Monday, Sept. 12, General Burnside escorted his nieces to Providence, where he visited Senator Anthony, at the Senator's house. He remarked that he had been somewhat "under the weather," and had consulted his physician, but felt better. When he was about to leave, Senator



A VIEW OF BRISTOL, N. I., FROM THE HARBOR.

Anthony proposed sending for a carriage to take him to the railway-station, but he declined, saying that it would do him good to walk, and started off with his firm, military stride. On his arrival at Bristol, Robbie, the son of his faithful colored servant, Robert Holloway, met him at the railway-station with a carriage, and he drove himself home, exchanging cordial greetings with his friends and acquaintances as he passed through the streets of Bristol, and out to "Edghill Farm."

On entering his house he went to his room, as was his custom, took off his coat and boots, and put on his dressing-gown and slippers. He complained to his servants several times in the evening of severe pains in the region of his heart, but declined to follow their suggestion that he should send for his physician. In the morning the servants found him walking about the house dressed, as they had left him the night before. He said that he had suffered a great deal of pain throughout the night, and had not been to bed. The pain appeared to increase, and about nine o'clock he consented to have Robbie sent for Doctor Barnes. Before the doctor could arrive the pain had become very intense, and he threw himself on his bed in great agony. When the doctor entered his room, General Burnside, recognizing him, remarked that something must be done at once, and asked that morphine be given him. These were the last audible words that he uttered. His pulse became erratic, and his spirit soon passed away.

No one was present when General Burnside's eyes were closed for the sleep that knows no waking, except his servants and Dr. Barnes. Mr. Alexander Perry, an intimate friend and neighbor, soon arrived, and in a few hours Governor Littlefield, Senator Anthony, Representatives

Chase and Aldrich, and other personal friends, came from Providence. Instead of the usual greeting from the hospitable general, they found him cold in death. The immediate cause of his decease was *angina pectoris*, or neuralgia of the heart.

Rhode Island was soon informed that her distinguished adopted son, of whose fame she was so justly proud, had ceased to exist, and it was promptly decided that his obsequies should be of the most impressive description, that contemporaries and posterity might know how deeply he was loved and honored at his home. The following proclamation was issued by the governor :

STATE OF RHODE ISLAND, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
PROVIDENCE, Sept. 13, 1881.

It is my painful duty to announce officially to the people of the State that the Hon. Ambrose E. Burnside, the junior Senator from this State in the Congress of the United States, died suddenly at his residence in Bristol this day at 10.55 o'clock, A. M. His eminent services to the State and to the country, his noble traits of character, and the universal esteem in which he has been held, combine to make the loss a public calamity. His funeral services will take place on Friday next at 12 o'clock, noon, and I request that between the hours of 12 o'clock, noon, and 2 o'clock, P. M., on that day, all public offices be closed; and that as a tribute of respect to the memory of our deceased fellow-citizen, all business be, so far as practicable, suspended.

ALFRED H. LITTLEFIELD, *Governor.*

The city of Providence, which was the legal residence of the deceased hero, wished to show its respect and love for him, and the mayor issued his proclamation, as follows :

CITY OF PROVIDENCE, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
CITY HALL, Sept. 14, 1881.

The sudden death of General Ambrose E. Burnside, officially announced by His Excellency Governor Littlefield, awakens feelings of universal sorrow in the hearts of the people of this city.

As a citizen, as general in the army, as governor of the State, as Senator in the United States Senate, he has brought honor and distinction to our city, to our commonwealth, and to our country.

The City Council having by resolution taken action in relation to the observance of his obsequies, and ordered the offices of the various municipal departments closed for the transaction of business from Thursday, Sept. 15, at 9 o'clock, A. M., to the following Saturday, at 9 o'clock, A. M., I have deemed it especially appropriate to add my request to that of the governor of this State, that out of respect to the memory of the dead citizen and soldier, all places of business be closed, so far as practicable, between the hours of 9 A. M. and 2 P. M., on Friday next, the day of the funeral.

WILLIAM HAYWARD, *Mayor*.

As the sad news of General Burnside's death reached other sections of the Republic, it prompted expressions of regret; and action was taken by the numerous associations to which he belonged, declaring their regard for him, and in many instances making arrangements for an attendance at his funeral.

The Hon. Chester A. Arthur, Vice-President, and president of the Senate, directed the sergeant-at-arms of that body to invite by telegraph such Senators as were accessible, to attend General Burnside's funeral. The Senate Chamber was draped in mourning, and the flag on the Senate wing of the Capitol was displayed at half-mast, in respect to the memory of the late Senator. The members of the Ninth Army Corps, who served under General Burnside, met in Boston and passed resolutions bearing testimony to the many virtues of their late commanding general; his loyalty to the government, which never permitted him to hesitate as to his duty; his brave conspicuousness upon every field of battle; his generous love for his soldiers; his cheerful confidence in his lieutenants; his zeal, which impelled him to push for victory against the most formidable obstacles; his goodness of heart, purity of life, and honesty of purpose; and a personal

modesty that attached him in most cordial love and esteem to all who shared with him the glory and danger of battle, from the first Bull Run to the final surrender at Appomattox.

The Providence Board of Trade, which did not customarily take public notice of the death of its members, met and passed resolutions on the death of General Burnside, which concluded by stating that "the open countenance, manly figure, and great heart of Burnside endeared him to the people of his adopted state; poor as well as rich, weak as well as strong, have felt the warm grasp of his hand, benefited by his assistance and encouragement, and all alike will mourn his loss."

The quaint old town of Bristol, with its atmosphere of peaceful life, was saddened by the death of its esteemed townsman, and even the gentle breeze which was wafted over Narragansett Bay, on which he used to love to sail, appeared softened and saddened by the desolation which filled the hearts of his neighbors and friends, especially the children, by whom he was deeply loved. The whole town was in mourning, as if for a beloved relative, and the public ceremonies, if they did not prefigure the pomp and elaboration which characterized the official obsequies at Providence on the following day, were as affecting as they were sincere and heartfelt.

Early on the morning of Thursday, Sept. 15, 1881, the relatives and friends of General Burnside gazed for the last times on his placid features at "Edghill Farm." The remains lay in a casket covered with black broadcloth, with silver handles, and a plate bearing the inscription :

AMBROSE E. BURNSIDE,

BORN MAY 23, 1824,

DIED SEPTEMBER 13, 1881.

In the casket were rosebuds and smilax, and in his hand was a bunch of his favorite roses. On the casket was the magnificent sword presented to "Major-General Burnside through the award of the Metropolitan Fair, United States Sanitary Commission, New York, April 25, 1864," and bearing the motto, "Courage and Truth." Near by, on a table, were three exquisite floral pieces—an anchor, a cross, and a shield—the tributes of the town. After a simple, yet impressive, religious service by the Rev. Geo. L. Locke, the relatives and domestics of the deceased took their farewell look at their departed friend, and the remains were then taken to the hearse, drawn by four black horses, and escorted by the Bristol Veteran Association, Col. Charles A. Waldron, commanding. The pall-bearers, relatives, and mourning friends followed in carriages, and all that was mortal of the deceased cultivator of "Edghill Farm" was borne from his beautiful home, along the avenue which had echoed his manly tread during its improvement, and where the tones of his voice had not yet utterly died away.

The mournful procession moved along the ferry road, hundreds of citizens meeting it and forming in the rear, while on the sidewalks were throngs of people, many a bowed head and moistened eye testifying to the love and esteem in which the departed was held.

St. Michael's Church, where the deceased had worshipped, was attended by an immense congregation. The pulpit, reading-desk, and chancel rail, were heavily draped with the emblems of mourning. Upon the font rested a large floral anchor, and the drapery of the pulpit and desk was looped up with white flowers. General Burnside's pew, on the north aisle, was also draped and decked with flowers, and at the central loop in the drapery were placed two small American flags with crossed staves.

The remains were met in the vestibule of the church by the Rev. Mr. Locke, who preceded them up the broad aisle, reading the opening sentences of the burial-service, the muffled roll of the drum and the soft strains from the organ making an impressive accompaniment to the clergyman's voice. The members of the Veteran Association, with the state and local officials, followed the casket, which was set down on the chancel platform. The services commenced with the burial psalm, read and chanted alternately, by the rector and the male choir of Trinity Church. The hymn, "Thy will be done," was next chanted by the choir, and then followed the prayers, including the several collects for Congress, for the President of the United States, and for a family in affliction. At the conclusion of the prayers, the choir chanted the *De Profundis*. The Rev. Mr. Locke, standing at the side of the casket, then said :

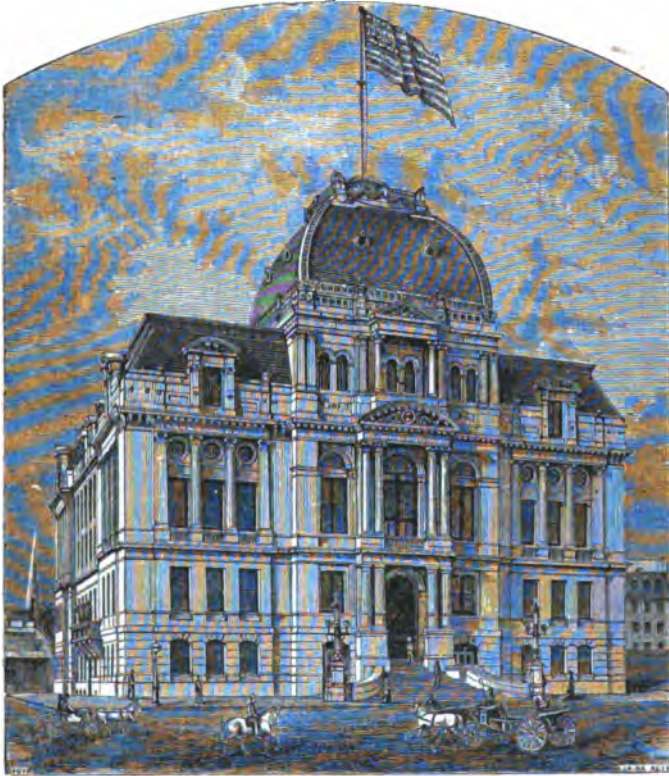
While the whole Nation to-day mourns the loss of that gift which God, having given to the Nation, has reclaimed — the gift of a brave, skillful, and chivalric soldier; of an honest, pure-minded statesman — we mourn with the Nation. And while to-day this Commonwealth mourns the removal of one, who for many years past it has delighted to honor, we mourn, as a portion of this Commonwealth. But we have our special and private grief to-day. We came here especially to honor one whom we have known not only in these relations, but as the fellow-citizen, as the noble, generous man, whom every one, young and old, in this community claimed to know, and of whom the claim of every one, young and old, was acknowledged. We have come to take, as it were, in some sort, our farewell of this familiar and majestic form that we shall see no more amongst us henceforth, forever. The occasion is not so much to anticipate the burial services which will be held to-morrow in the city of Providence, at the church with which, more closely perhaps than this in which we are assembled, our noble friend was related. We are not here, moreover, as on an occasion of funeral eulogies. That which is in the hearts of this great assembly would require a long time for utterance, and the time available is quite inadequate to anything more than brief, simple words. But that which it is designed that this should be

especially, is that all of you may have the opportunity of coming forward to take a last farewell view of this beloved and honored face.

The lid of the casket was then removed, and all present had an opportunity to take a parting look at the well-known features of their deceased townsman and friend. At half-past ten o'clock, the casket was closed and again placed in the hearse. The procession was re-formed, and marched to the railroad-station, the church-bells tolling continuously a mournful farewell. On reaching the station, the remains were placed on a special train, on which the Veteran Association, the pall-bearers, and the state and local authorities also embarked. The trip to Providence was made in twenty minutes, and at the way-stations crowds of people stood in quiet and respectful curiosity as the train swept by.

On the arrival of the train at the railroad-depot in Providence, the remains with their escort were received by the general committee of citizens. Before proceeding to the City Hall, however, the cortege marched up Benefit Street, to the residence of Mrs. Bishop, the venerable mother-in-law of the deceased. Here there was a halt, and the casket was carried into the house to permit the aged lady and invalid to gaze for the last time upon the well-loved features of him so devoted to her. With her were her nieces and other relatives of his. As the sound of suppressed lamentation reached the ears of the Veteran Corps without, the twitching of eyelids and grizzled mustaches, and the settled grimness which came over the countenances of many, gave evidence that the grief of the stricken family found a response in their own hearts. In a few moments the casket was replaced in the hearse, and the column marched to the City Hall, in front of which it was halted.

The City Hall, a new and elegant structure, was elaborately decorated, and on either side of the main entrance were bodies of the state militia, and of the Grand Army



CITY HALL, PROVIDENCE, R. I.

of the Republic, who presented arms as the casket was borne up the broad staircase into the rotunda. Col. Samuel Norris, of the Bristol town committee, stepped forward and thus addressed the chairman of the Providence general committee of arrangements :

Mr. Chairman: In behalf of the committee appointed by the citizens of Bristol, I have the sad honor of delivering to you the beloved remains of our distinguished fellow-townsmen, Gen. Ambrose E. Burnside. We all loved him, and part with him with the profoundest grief.

Col. William Goddard, chairman of the Providence general committee, then made the following response :

Rhode Island commissions us to receive these mortal remains of her illustrious and beloved son from the citizens of the town in which he dwelt and died. Reverently guarded by his own veteran soldiers, his lifeless form will lie beneath these solemn arches, that all who loved him in life may, even through blinding tears, once more behold that dear and gracious face. On the morrow all that was mortal of Ambrose Everett Burnside will be buried from human eyes. But the precious memory of his peerless honor, his inspiring patriotism, his glowing devotion to duty, his heroic courage, and of his knightly deeds, will abide forever in the hearts of the people of Rhode Island.

Comrades: The State commands you to guard well the ashes of the hero whose fame has now become her own inheritance.

Throughout the afternoon, and until late in the evening, a sad procession of visitors passed the open casket, as the remains lay in state. Men, women, and children, the old and the young, flocked in crowds to see once more those well-known features,

“And gaze upon the great,
Where neither guilty glory glows
Nor despicable state.”





CHAPTER XXXIX.

FUNERAL AT PROVIDENCE — THE MILITARY DISPLAY — THE VETERANS — THE PROCESSION — SERVICES IN THE CHURCH — EULOGY BY THE REV. MR. WOODBURY — THE LAST MARCH — THE INTERMENT.

THE last funeral rites over the remains of General Burnside were celebrated on Friday, Sept. 16, 1881, at the city of Providence. The public honors decreed by the state authorities in honor of Rhode Island's illustrious citizen were duly rendered, and truly may it be added that no obsequies ever before celebrated there had more sincerely expressed the public sorrow. Of the many distinguished citizens of Rhode Island who had ended their lives within her limits, and whose stations and virtues had claimed for their ashes every mark of respect, there had never been one at whose obsequies the public heart had been so deeply affected. The feeling of every one seemed to be as though he had lost a personal friend, and this sentiment of affection was universally blended with admiration.

Providence was filled, early on the morning of the funeral, with a flood of people, like a harbor of the sea swollen to its brim at the sea-tide. Business was suspended, the public offices and many of the private dwelling-houses were shrouded in mourning, the national colors

were displayed at half-mast, and on every hand were evidences of a calamity as unlooked for as it was great. Men in uniform were everywhere visible, the music of military bands was heard, and the sharp rattle of the drums still more unfailingly impressed the fact upon the heart.

The doors of the City Hall were opened at six o'clock in the morning, and the public were admitted to view the mortal remains of the dead hero. There he lay, whose estimate of duty was, 'to obey, to command and to be obeyed, — pallid, lifeless, and still.

"Can this be death? — then what is life or death?
'Speak!' — but he spoke not; 'Wake!' but still he slept.
But yesterday, and who had mightier breath?
A thousand warriors by his word were kept
In awe; he said, as the centurion saith,
'Go,' and he goeth; 'come,' and forth he stepp'd.
The trump and bugle till he spake were dumb;
And now, naught left him but the muffled drum."

It was noticed that the expression on no two faces was alike, as the passing throng gazed on the features of the deceased. Mothers brought their children to see the face of their fathers' beloved commander, and veterans who had honorably filled various grades in the army, took a last look at him whom they had loved so well. Delegations from distant cities brought rare floral devices, and other floral tributes were contributed by the people of Rhode Island. It was estimated that during five hours over one hundred persons a minute walked past and viewed the remains.

Promptly at eleven o'clock the casket was closed and borne out from the City Hall to the hearse by a detachment of veterans, and followed by the pall-bearers: Hon. John P. Sanborn, Hon. W. W. Hoppin, T. P. I. Goddard,



PROVIDENCE, R. I.

Hon. Le B. B. Colt, the Rev. E. G. Robinson, D. D., Hon. George H. Browne, Hon. Charles S. Bradley, Hon. L. W. Ballou, Col. George R. Fearing, and Maj.-Gen. J. G. Parke, U. S. A. They were followed by the Congressional Committee, composed of Senators Anthony of Rhode Island, Blair of New Hampshire, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Hale of Maine, Hoar of Massachusetts, Jonas of Louisiana, Jones of Florida, Logan of Illinois, Pugh of Alabama, and Vest of Missouri; Representatives Aldrich of Rhode Island, Rice of Massachusetts, and Thomas of Illinois; Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate, Richard J. Bright, Assistant Sergeant-at-Arms and Door-keepers, Isaac Bassett and James I. Christie.

The remains, as they were borne out from the City Hall, were received with military honors. Then the short, sharp words of command were heard, as the column was formed, and then moved forward at the order "March!" Minute-guns were fired; the bands played funeral marches, sounding in the distance like a low wail and then bursting upon the ear with heavy notes of sadness, mingled with bursts of hope; and a requiem of passing-bells added solemnity to the scene.

The procession was headed by Adj.-Gen. C. H. Barney, with a full suite of aides-de-camp. Then came the active militia of the State of Rhode Island, commanded by Brig.-Gen. E. H. Rhodes. The Grand Army of the Republic followed, under the command of Brig.-Gen. W. H. P. Steere, escorting the commander-in-chief of the order, Maj. George S. Merrill, and staff, and the military order of the Loyal Legion. Last in the column were the veteran associations, Brig.-Gen. Nelson Viall commanding. This escort presented an imposing appearance, the infantry marching with reversed arms, and the veterans moving with the swinging step of old campaigners.

As the procession slowly moved through the streets, to the music of bands, and with muffled drums beating "funeral marches to the grave," it presented a most impressive spectacle. Many houses and stores were decorated with sombre emblems, but the presence of the countless multitude at the doors and windows, and ranged on the sidewalks, was more solemn and impressive than the most extravagant decoration. Senator Jones, of Florida, who was one of the Congressional Committee, was deeply impressed by the scene. "Never," said he, "shall I forget the impression made upon my mind the day I followed his remains to the grave. It seemed that every inhabitant, high and low, of that State he loved and served so well, thronged the public highways to pay homage to his memory and manifest their grief. The aspect of mourning was neither stately, cold, nor formal. In each face could be seen the sure indications of genuine sorrow, and such was the estimate in which he was held that thousands who had never seen him while living, lamented his departure as that of a father or bosom friend. Great, indeed, must that man be, who, when elevated above his fellow-men, and known only to them through his public conduct, impresses the public heart with nothing but sentiments of the warmest love and devotion."

Meanwhile the First Congregational Church, at which the general worshiped, was filled with ladies and gentlemen, seats having been reserved for those who were going in the procession. The galleries reserved for the ladies were filled an hour before the services were commenced. The pulpit was simply and tastefully draped with emblems of mourning, and General Burnside's pew, No. 116, was covered with black cloth, and held vacant. The casket was brought into the church about ten minutes before one

o'clock, accompanied by the general committee, the Congressional committee, and the guard of honor. It was preceded by the Rev. Mr. Slicer, pastor of the church, the Rev. Carlton Staples, and the Rev. Augustus Woodbury. As the solemn procession moved through the aisle, the Rev. Mr. Slicer read the opening sentence of the King's Chapel burial-service, and the organist gently played the "Dead March in Saul." At the head of the aisle the casket was placed upon standards, and the accompanying committees and the guard of honor took seats in the pews assigned to them. On the casket was the flag of the Union, surmounted by crossed swords.

The choir chanted in low tones "The Angels of Grief," a hymn by John G. Whittier, which was followed by the reading of selections from the Scriptures, by the Rev. Mr. Staples. The Rev. Mr. Woodbury then announced the hymn beginning

"Forever with the Lord,
Amen; so let it be,"

which was sung to a familiar tune, the congregation joining the choir in the singing.

The funeral oration, which was delivered by the Rev. Augustus Woodbury, followed. Mr. Woodbury (who had served on the staff of General Burnside as chaplain early in the war, who was the historiographer of the Ninth Army Corps, and who was a beloved friend of the deceased) spoke with deep feeling. When he referred to the social virtues of the fallen leader in eloquent words, many in that distinguished audience were visibly affected, as the characteristics of their noble-hearted friend were vividly brought before them. The address was as follows:

It is natural that we should sometimes be very painfully troubled by the fact that the most beautiful and most promising, the wisest and

the best, the bravest and the most useful lives are cut short by the power of death, at the very moment when it appears to us they are proving themselves to be most effective. Their promise seems doomed to utter disappointment. Their beauty fades away. Their force is vainly spent. More than once has the sorrowful fact in human experience come home to our community in a very grievous way, and we have been called upon to mourn the death of those whose departure from among us has left a void which we know not how to fill. Our hearts have ached with the sense of our unsolaced bereavement. Our spirits have been depressed beneath the heavy burden of our woe. As the gloom has settled down upon us — darkening even the brightest day — we have vainly sought our consolation in human philosophy. We have turned for comfort to the truth of that divine religion which assures us that no good or worthy life, however incomplete it may appear to human judgment, can ever be lost, or fail in its fruitful work for human good. In the long seasons of Divine Providence no such life can be incomplete. It is complemented in the better and nobler life of the humanity it has helped to elevate and bless. It is complemented in the immortality to which it has attained — not to spend an eternity of selfish enjoyment, but in the bliss of ever-enlarging powers for good, and of ever-increasing growth in the best and holiest life. We cannot say that any promise of usefulness and good is ever allowed to go unfulfilled. We cannot say that any true and earnest life fails of its object. The power of death does not destroy the opportunity. Shall we not rather say that it enlarges it in glorifying the memory of virtue, and investing goodness and fidelity to duty with immortal charms? "The memorial of virtue is immortal, because it is known with God and with men. When it is present, men take example of it; and when it is gone they desire it. It weareth a crown and triumpheth forever, having gotten the victory, striving for undefiled rewards."

It is with some such thoughts as these that we have come to this service of remembrance and love. Our dear friend, stricken down in the prime of his manhood, has ended his life on earth when that life seemed most needful to his friends and to the State, and in the midst of a career which was every day growing more honorable to himself and more useful to his fellow-citizens. To those who admired and loved him — and they are to be counted by tens of thousands — his life was very beautiful and precious. It had in it the most attractive qualities of a noble manhood. Well known throughout the land, his name was the synonym of generosity and honor. A patriotic citizen, a brave soldier, a remarkably successful chief magistrate of our State, a dignified, honest, just, and useful Senator of the Republic, he has adorned every station which he has filled, and found in it not so much the reward of ambition as the opportunity for serving the land he loved with a passionate devotion! That

opportunity was becoming wider and larger as the years of his public service went on, and we could safely predict of him, had his life been spared, a career and influence in the councils of the Nation second to none.

It is not necessary to repeat the story which is already so familiar to the public mind. It suffices for us now to recall a few of the more prominent characteristics which that story illustrates. Chief among these was an unswerving faithfulness to duty for duty's sake. Of course he had the desire for appreciation and an honorable ambition to excel. Every man who achieves any fame or success in the world, or who does any efficient work among his fellow-men, must have some feeling of this kind. But in General Burnside's case I am sure, from the careful and intimate knowledge of him which it has been my privilege to have, this feeling was subordinate to his spirit of conscientious fidelity. The duty which was revealed to him he did to the utmost of his ability, and with a single-handedness which was especially remarkable. In his thought there was nothing ulterior, nothing of the low desire for effect or the selfish wish to gain a personal profit for his faithfulness. He could waive his rank in the service without a pang, if he thought the good of the service demanded it. He could turn over his command to another without a regret, if he deemed that that other could exercise it better than himself in promoting the country's cause. He could even consent to remain unknown and allow others to take the credit and reward of his own fidelity. Free from professional jealousy, he could unite in praising even those who reaped the fruits of his own unselfish labors. "Why do you not claim what is your own?" his friends would sometimes impatiently ask. "I have simply to do my duty," was his reply. "I can safely leave any claim that I have to the judgment of future years and the justice of my fellow-countrymen."

To this sense of public duty was joined the sense of personal responsibility. They are not always found together in official life. Public station is too often sought for the honors and emoluments which it offers, and when once gained, the sense of responsibility does not seem to have much weight. But if I read the character of our friend aright, public station became to him more a solemn trust to be discharged as best it could, than an honor to be enjoyed. This sense of responsibility was marked in his care for his men when in command of the First Regiment, in those early days when we were learning the first rudiments of war. The regiment was required to do everything which it had to do, and was not spared in the hour of extremity. But in all the details of its life, in camp and field, its colonel was very particular in his personal supervision and knowledge of every officer and man. "How does the First Rhode Island succeed in getting transportation, food and shelter so easily?" was sometimes asked

by members of other regiments who were left on the road without forage, rations and tents. The reply at the department headquarters was: "Because the First Rhode Island has a colonel who knows how to take care of his men." It was so everywhere. This sense of personal responsibility was very strong in his leadership of the Ninth Corps, in his command of the Army of the Potomac, in his office of governor of the State, in his chair as a Senator in Congress. Whether it was in the obtainment of a pension for the poor widowed mother of a deceased soldier, or in the furtherance of great public measures, it was to him a personal matter, demanding a conscientious and faithful attention. With a persistence which was always commendable, and a painstaking fidelity which bade defiance to personal loss, he pushed forward his plan of operations, or his measures for the public welfare, until the end was reached. He could never rest until his work was done.

An added charm was given to this faithfulness to duty by a rare and generous magnanimity. How very marked and conspicuous this feature of his character was, all men knew. In all his conduct there was an absolute absence of pettiness of thought or action. He did not know the meaning of intrigue, and he could never be made to believe that there was any double-dealing in any man's deed or word. This over-confidence in others made him liable to be deceived, and he doubtless sometimes suffered both pecuniarily and in good repute, but no amount of such suffering and loss ever caused him to lose his faith in human nature or his trust in those around him. Believing that others understood his plans as clearly as he did himself, he sometimes took too much for granted. But rather than look upon others with distrust, he would bear with a generous patience whatever failure they may have brought upon him. All this was an amiable trait of character. In the language of the world it might be called by some a sign of weakness, but out of such generosity and faith in mankind are born some of the finest and best qualities of manhood, and our friend, without them, would never have attracted the admiration and love which he secured.

Were this the proper time and place, I could give instances of this magnanimity by the score. Those who knew him well can recall them now without my aid, but I may be permitted to pause a moment upon one of these which, perhaps more than all, won for him the grateful sympathy of his countrymen after the disastrous issue of the battle of Fredericksburg.

There were many—whether rightly or wrongly I do not now say—who attributed that failure to other causes than the want of skill on the part of the commanding general. Some blamed the administration for wishing to hurry on an engagement with an enemy most strongly posted. Others censured what they thought a lack of vigorous coöpera-

tion on the part of subordinate officers. Not so Burnside. "For the failure of the attack," he says in his report, "I am responsible, as the extreme gallantry, courage, and endurance shown by my officers and men was never exceeded."

In commending his successor, he said to the President, "Neither you nor General Hooker will be a happier man than myself if he shall gain a victory on the Rappahannock." And in his order transferring his command to that distinguished officer, he wrote, "Give to the brave and skillful general who has so long been identified with your organization, and who is now to command you, your full and cordial support and coöperation, and you will deserve success." The words came directly and sincerely from his great and generous heart.

This high characteristic at once secured for him the cordial esteem of his associates in the Senate of the United States. It was a new and untried scene of public duty, and the early days of his service were sadly clouded over by the severest domestic affliction and his own serious sickness.

It was natural that he should enter the Senate with diffidence. Not only the traditions of that body, but its own character have made it the finest legislative council in the world. If Burnside could not carry to it a surpassing intellectual power and a long legislative experience, he could carry to it the truest patriotism and the sincerest devotion to the public weal. He was content to learn of others. He was frank to acknowledge an error of judgment.

He refused to take an unworthy advantage of an opponent. He was the manliest of men, in debate or in a political contest. When an accustomed service gave him increased confidence, he introduced and advanced measures of prime importance, and took part in the leading debates of the body.

The cause of national education received his warm support, and to all measures tending to improve the military department and service, and to those for the relief of widows and orphans of our dead soldiers, he brought an intelligent understanding and the interests of a comrade.

The State of Rhode Island may be considered fortunate, indeed, if she shall, in years to come, find so faithful, just, manly, and patriotic a representative.

How warm and constant in friendship was this great heart that has now ceased to beat. It never harbored an ungenerous feeling. It never felt that it had an injury to forgive. There were a thousand acts of kindness of which it was the source. Thoughtful and considerate of others to the last degree, there was not a man or woman who rendered him service or who ministered to his wants, or a guest that enjoyed his affluent hospitality, but had occasion to be grateful for the friendship which

Burnside offered him. That friendship embraced all ranks, from the highest in the land to the lowest. It reached across the sea and touched the hearts of men and nations whose differences he attempted to compose. It followed those whom he loved to distant lands, and placed them under renewed obligations for his considerate kindness. I dare not trust myself to say what it was to those who were nearest to him; nor can I speak of the love that survived death and went out with inarticulate longings to the life beyond the grave—longings that are now satisfied forever. That friendship and that love had their root in the exceeding truthfulness of spirit which lay at the heart of our friend's character. Clear and guileless as was his nature, he had no room for any but the best and truest impulses, and constancy and steadfastness became thus the habit of his soul.

It was as though he heard the voice :

" To thine own self be true,
And it must follow as the night the day
Thou canst not then be false to any man."

There was withal, in General Burnside's character, a deep religious element. It may not have often come to the surface, certainly not in any ostentatious way, but it lay within him, his safeguard from many an ill, his encouragement in many a difficult duty, and his support in many a sore and trying experience.

It was my privilege to see somewhat of this innermost life of his, whether more than others or not, I do not now say, but we have had in former days many a conversation while in camp, beneath the light of the stars and in the early dawn, on very high themes, and I was instructed and helped by the clearness of his thought and the purity of his spirit. Many a time has he kneeled in prayer beside me in our quarters before entering to rest at night, and in later years, I doubt not there have been hours of secret, silent devotion, when he humbly and sincerely sought the help of God.

In a letter which he wrote to me, on assuming command of the Army of the Potomac, I find these words: " You know how much I feel any responsibility placed upon me, and can readily imagine how much of my time is occupied with this enormous command. You will remember that when I was with you in the field, with a comparatively small command, I felt that I could do nothing of myself, and I then felt more than ever in my life the need of entire reliance upon an all-wise Creator. But now, the responsibility is so great that at times I tremble at the thought of assuming that I am able to exercise so large a command. Yet when I think that I have made no such assumption; that I have shunned the responsibility, and only accepted it when I was ordered to do it, and when it would have been disloyal and unfriendly to our government not to do

it, then I take courage, and approach our Heavenly Father with freedom and trustfulness, confident that if I can act honestly and industriously, constantly asking His protection and assistance, all will be well, no matter how dark everything now seems to me."

We can safely leave him with that Father whom he trusted, and be assured that all is well with him forever.

So we bid farewell to our brother, counselor, friend.

The soldier's battles are over. The strifes of the forum are hushed. The labors and cares of life are ended. The lonely heart has found its home, its rest, its peace.

At the close of the eulogy, prayer was offered by the Rev. Mr. Slicer, and this was followed by the singing of the beautiful hymn, "Beyond the smiling and the weeping." The benediction was then pronounced by the Rev. Mr. Slicer, and the remains were borne from the church, the congregation remaining in the pews until the casket, and those who were to join the procession to the grave, had passed along into the church-yard.

A long array of carriages conveyed many of those who had attended the services in the church to the grave. In the first one was His Excellency A. H. Littlefield, governor of Rhode Island, as chief mourner, and in others were the members of the family of the deceased, the state judiciary, the state and county officials, the members of the General Assembly, the city government of Providence, representatives of the Providence Board of Trade, the Faculty of Brown University, the officers of the Rhode Island Historical Society, the officers of the Providence Association of Mechanics and Manufacturers, and a large number of distinguished gentlemen.

The procession resumed its march at half-past two o'clock, passing up Benefit Street to Olney Street, and up Olney Street to Swan Point Cemetery. As the column moved slowly along, escorted by the stalwart veterans with steady tramp, a mournful but significant silence prevailed,

and the most affectionate and sympathetic regret was very manifest on every hand. The discharge of minute-guns, the solemn tolling of bells, the wailing notes of the bands, and the rattle of muffled drums were echoed in the bruised hearts of the people of Rhode Island. All along the route to the cemetery people were gathered together on the stone walls, and on the lawns in front of private residences, while pastures and side-lanes were filled with vehicles of every description.

It was nearly four o'clock when the head of the column entered Swan Point Cemetery. On arriving at the grave, the escort halted and wheeled into line on one side of the pathway, while the Grand Army coming up, wheeled into line on the other side, forming living walls. The ranks of each body were opened, the colors were drooped, and as the hearse, with its precious freight, came into this "path of glory" leading "to the grave," between the serried ranks, the word of command was given—"Present arms!" It was the last word of command, ordering the last salute to the deceased commander. The bands played their last notes of respect, and the drums beat their last tribute. No more martial strains for him, until the last trumpet shall sound.

Governor Littlefield, the mourners, the clergy, and the Loyal Legion followed the remains to the grave, which was tastefully decorated. The American Band performed "Peace, troubled soul." The Rev. Augustus Woodbury, standing by the grave-side, then read the impressive King's Chapel burial-service, followed by an eloquent and touching prayer. Then, at quarter-past five o'clock, just as the sun began to sink towards the western horizon, all that was mortal of Ambrose E. Burnside was lowered to its last resting-place by the faithful hands of his war-worn

veterans, while many were endeavoring, with eyes blinded with tears, to pierce the dark chasm into which had descended that loved and honored form, there to rest in peace. A benediction was pronounced by the Rev. George L. Locke, of Bristol. The American Band played "Nearer, my God, to Thee," and a farewell artillery salute was fired from the guns of Battery A. This closed the sad rites, and the military and citizens slowly dispersed, leaving behind them their beloved Senator—General—friend.

His triumphs are o'er — he's gone to his rest —
To the throne of his Maker, the home of the blest.
The hero, the statesman, — his journey is done,
All his cares now are over, his last battle won :
Now sweetly he rests from his sorrow and fears,
And leaves a proud nation in sadness and tears.





CHAPTER XL.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF GENERAL BURNSIDE'S DEATH IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE — FORMAL PRESENTATION OF RESOLUTIONS — EULOGY BY SENATOR ANTHONY, OF RHODE ISLAND.

THE announcement that funereal honors were to be paid to the deceased Senator from Rhode Island, on Monday, the 23d of January, 1882, attracted crowds to the galleries of the United States Senate Chamber, with a number of distinguished persons entitled to admission on the floor. On the desk which the deceased Senator had occupied was a beautiful floral tribute, and his curule chair was draped in mourning.

No business was transacted, and after the reading of the usual resolutions, eloquent addresses were successively delivered by Senators Anthony of Rhode Island, Hampton of South Carolina, Edmunds of Vermont, Maxey of Texas, Harrison of Indiana, Ransom of North Carolina, Hawley of Connecticut, Jones of Florida, Hale of Maine, and (the successor of the deceased) Aldrich of Rhode Island. Copious extracts from several of these eulogies have already been given in this work.

After the reading of the journal, Mr. Anthony asked

permission to present a series of resolutions, which he offered, and which were read :

Resolved, That from an earnest desire to show every mark of respect to the memory of Hon. Ambrose E. Burnside, late a Senator of the United States from the State of Rhode Island, and to manifest the high estimate entertained of his eminent public services and his distinguished patriotism, the business of the Senate be now suspended, that his friends and associates may pay fitting tribute to his public and private virtues.

Resolved, That a widespread and public sorrow on the announcement of his death attested the profound sense of the loss which the whole country has sustained.

Resolved, That the secretary of the Senate communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

Resolved, That as an additional mark of respect for the memory of the Senator, the Senate do now adjourn.

Mr. Anthony then eloquently, and with deep feeling, paid the following tribute to the memory of his departed colleague. For upwards of twenty years a Senator from Rhode Island, and during the past seven years the colleague and friend of General Burnside, he could speak from a personal knowledge of many events in the career of the illustrious deceased. He said, impressively :

" No bugle must sound,
Ye bright waving banners, stoop low !
Let your lances with cypress be bound,
Let the drums be all silent in woe."

Mr. President: I have risen to perform the very saddest office that has fallen to me, in all my public service.

The sudden death of General Burnside, in the full vigor and strength of his manhood, sent, through the State of Rhode Island, a shock that was echoed back, in messages of sympathy and condolence, from every part of the country and from foreign lands. The Nation, which was watching, in alternate hope and fear, the ebbing life of its elected chief, turned for a moment from the bedside of the dying Garfield, to lament the dead Burnside. In this body, the death of no one among us could have moved the Senate to a profounder sense of sorrow. His bier has been moistened by the tears of a state; his tomb is garlanded by the admiration of a Nation.

It is not my purpose to enter upon a sketch of the life of General Burnside; scarcely even of his character. The most important part of that life was passed in the service of his country, and his deeds are a part of his country's history; and so long as Newbern and Roanoke Island, and



HON. HENRY B. ANTHONY,

[General Burnside's Colleague in the Senate.]

South Mountain, and Antietam, and Knoxville are remembered, his services and his fame will not be forgotten.

General Burnside was born at Liberty, Union County, Indiana, May 23, 1824. His family was of Scotch descent. His great-grandfather, Robert Burnside, with two brothers, had espoused the cause of Charles Edward, and after the triumph of the British arms, and the overthrow of the Pretender, at Culloden, sought an asylum in South Carolina. The general's grandfather, James Burnside, married a daughter of James Edg-

hill, an Englishman, by birth. His son, the father of the general, bore his mother's paternal name, Edghill Burnside. He was born in South Carolina, but removed to the Territory of Indiana. He appears to have sympathized with the conscientious repugnance to slavery, which, even at that early day, had been aroused in the Carolinas, for he freed his slaves, and accompanied the "Quaker Emigration" to the West, which was dedicated to freedom, by the ordinance of 1787. In his new home, he maintained a character of high respectability and influence; was for a long time clerk of the county court, an associate justice of the same, and a senator in the Legislature of the State. Ambrose was his youngest son. He gave him a good English education in the schools of the neighborhood; and in 1843 he entered, as a cadet, at West Point. At the academy, he was not a hard student. With exuberant animal spirits, of vigorous bodily strength, he became expert in military and athletic exercises, while his aptitude in mathematics, then, as now, ranking high in the curriculum of studies, compensated for his deficiency of literary application, and gave him an excellent average standing; and he graduated eighteen in a class of thirty-eight.

Among his classmates and fellow-students were many who subsequently rose to distinction, on one side or the other, in the late unhappy war. Of his own class were Generals Willcox, Fry, Gibson, Long, Griffin, Viele, and Hunt on the Union side, and A. P. Hill and Heth on the other. This class furnished twenty-eight officers who adhered to the flag, and four who took up arms against it. Six had previously died or resigned. Among his fellow-students were Generals McClellan, Hancock, Pleasanton, Fitz John Porter, Gilmore, Parke, Reno, Foster, William F. Smith, C. P. Stone, Hatch, Sackett, Granger, Stoneman, Russell, Pitcher, Gibbs, Gordon, Michler, Duane, Tidball, Benet, Bond, McKeever, and Buford, who supported the Union, and Jackson (Stonewall), Maxey (Senator), Buckner, Rhett, E. K. Smith, Bee, W. D. Smith, D. R. Jones, Willcox, Pickett, Ben Robinson, T. A. Washington, Thomas K. Jackson, G. H. Steuart, and Withers, who opposed it. Immediately upon his graduation, Burnside joined the army, and was sent to Mexico, with which the United States were at war. Active negotiations for peace had commenced before he reached the seat of war, in which he took no part, except to escort a baggage-train from Vera Cruz to the capital city, through a hostile country, filled with guerillas, a service which he performed with such skill and discretion, as gave promise of future distinction, and received the commendation of his superiors. After that as first lieutenant in Bragg's Battery, organized as cavalry, he was employed in the difficult and perilous duty of escorting the mails across the plains infested by hostile savages.

In 1853, having invented a breech-loading rifle, which, although since

superseded by later inventions, was a great improvement over any then in use, he resigned his commission, and engaged in the manufacture of this new weapon, at Bristol. The enterprise proved unfortunate. He failed to secure a contract with the government, not from the lack of merit in the invention, but from his indignant refusal to employ the intervention of a lobbyist, or middle man, who enjoyed the favor of the War Department. Leaving Bristol, for which he always retained the strongest attachment, and where he afterwards returned and set up his household gods, he entered the service of the Illinois Central Railroad Company, of which his friend and fellow-student, General McClellan, was vice-president, and where he soon rose to the important position of treasurer.

At this time, General Burnside was a Democrat in his politics. He had run as the Democratic candidate for Congress, in his district, in Rhode Island. During the agitation that preceded the outbreak of the Rebellion he strongly urged the restoration of harmony and the preservation of the Union by peaceful means, to avoid the conflict of arms.

To this end he was ready to make important concessions, to allay the southern discontent. But when the first gun upon Fort Sumter fired alike the Southern and the Northern heart, he promptly, and without a moment's hesitation, offered to his country the sword that she had taught him to use. He was selected for the command of the First Rhode Island Regiment. In reply to a dispatch from Governor Sprague, inquiring how soon he could leave for his command, he answered, "at once"; and, the next morning, he was in Providence, busily engaged in organizing and preparing it. In an incredibly short time, the regiment was raised and equipped; and in two days after the first man was enlisted, a battery of six rifled guns, with 500 men, was on its way to Washington; and in two days more, the rest of the regiment followed. Notwithstanding this promptness, such was the vigor of the colonel, seconded by his subordinate officers, and such his valuable military experience, that the regiment left fully armed, equipped, and provisioned; and gained the highest praise by its appearance of discipline, efficiency, and soldierly bearing. None of the new and hastily organized regiments came into the service better prepared for their duties. Its evening parade was a favorite resort of Mr. Lincoln, who, accompanied by high dignitaries, civil and military, often came to witness and to admire its evolutions.

In the battle of Bull Run, which followed, Colonel Burnside commanded a brigade, and as was justly said, in a memoir read before the Loyal Legion, by Col. William Goddard, who served under him, "no share of the disasters of that conflict can be assigned to him or to his troops." In the autumn of 1861, General Burnside, raised to the rank of brigadier-general, took command of the "Burnside Expedition" to the coast of North Carolina. The conception, the plan, and the execution

of that important enterprise attest the uncommon military ability of its originator and leader. The secret of the expedition was well kept, kept even from the penetrating investigation of the newspapers. It sailed in January, 1862, the objective point being known only to the commander and the few confidential officers whom it was necessary to intrust with the information. A violent storm struck the fleet, off Hatteras, and dispersed the vessels, so that more than a week elapsed before they reached the rendezvous. There, they encountered a succession of gales, which threatened them with destruction. The ships, crowded into a narrow space, with insufficient holding ground, beaten about by the winds and waves, entangling their hawsers, running foul of each other, and filled to overflowing with discouraged and sea-sick men, the expedition seemed to be predestined to failure, by force of the elements, without the opportunity to fire a gun. In the midst of all this disastrous confusion, the calm features and striking figure of Burnside appeared conspicuous, meeting every emergency, providing against every calamity, confident, imparting to his men his own indomitable cheerfulness, and inspiring them with his own unflinching hopefulness. The gallant and able defenders of the position flattered themselves with the easy repulse of any assault that could be made against it, by land or by water, even unaided by the elements, which seemed to have conspired in their favor. They were strongly fortified, naturally, and by artificial works, skillfully constructed, and of great strength.

A not over friendly pen thus describes the situation :

When a generation shall arrive that has time to read the romance of the four years we call the Rebellion, none of its episodes will stand out more picturesquely than Burnside's audacious assault upon the rebel seaboard at its most defensible point. Newbern was the knot of a ganglia of railway systems. An army of one hundred thousand men could have been concentrated on its circumvallating land and water lines long before Burnside felt justified in attacking. The rebels were content with confronting the expedition with equal or but slightly superior numbers, and though they had much in their favor, the admirable courage and intrepid combinations of the Union commanders wrested lines and defenses from well-organized defenders that in any other war or at any other time would have given the victors an imperishable fame. Landing his little army below Newbern, on the Neuse River, Burnside deployed his lines with a simple faith in the *Army Regulations* that would have given joy to such a martinet as Von Moltke or Frederick. The rebels were admirably protected, and had not anticipated serious peril to disturb the serenity of their confidence. Great fields of yellow furze, with a thin growth of pines, separated their works from the river. These works, beginning with an enormous railway embankment that reached the dimensions of bastions at certain points, were calculated to hold an army in check until field-guns and regular approaches should demolish them. Burnside, though timid in peace and diffident in war, was never cautious in battle. He believed that armies nearly equal in numbers could find no better business than fighting a situation out on the first opportunity. Heckmann, the dashing commander of the Ninth New Jersey infantry, took the lead, and the regiment tore across the field on a run. They found the men behind the works as full of ardor as themselves. The *Mass* of the Jerseymen, however, had caught the Connecticut troops and New Yorkers, and the line, though mowed

down and almost annihilated, reached the railway, surmounted, crossed the ditch on the side, and in a few minutes the astonished and confident rebels were prisoners. This is not the place, however, to relate this admirably complete military diversion.

This was the earliest important Union success in the East. The grumblers, a class always numerous, and noisy in proportion to their ignorance of the purposes, or even of the destination of the expedition, had been loud in their predictions of its failure, in which they were strengthened by vague reports of disaster and shipwreck. When the news of victory was flashed across the wires, one exultant shout rose throughout the North, and the name of Burnside was in every mouth.

General Burnside then joined the Army of the Potomac, where he organized the Ninth Corps, which rendered so important services, and won for itself and its commander so high renown. On the 14th of September, 1862, General Burnside achieved the victory of South Mountain. At the battle of Antietam, he commanded the left wing of the army. Returning to the Army of the Potomac, he resumed command of his favorite Ninth Corps. Here he was offered the command of the army. He declined it, with unaffected diffidence, as he had twice before; but it was pressed upon him by positive orders, and he could not, longer, without insubordination, refuse it. The battle of Fredericksburg followed. I do not propose to enter upon any discussion of that conflict, so disastrous to the Union arms. I wish to arise no animosities, by bringing up disputed points; but I should not render justice to the occasion, did I not say that, in the judgment of men infinitely better instructed than I, in military affairs, had the general been seconded by the loyal and cordial coöperation of all his chief subordinates, and had he received promised appliances, victory would have perched on the Union banners. Such, I have no doubt, was his own opinion, although I never heard him declare it.

As magnanimous in disaster as he was modest in success, he assumed the whole responsibility of the defeat, and made no complaint. He simply demanded the removal of certain officers as the condition on which alone he could efficiently and satisfactorily remain at the head of the army. This condition not complied with, he resigned, and turned over the command to General Hooker. When urged to make public his grievances, he replied that it would embarrass General Hooker, whose success he sincerely desired, and, with his hopeful disposition, believed in. Time and history, he said, would vindicate him, and if they failed to do so, it was better that he should remain under a cloud of undeserved reproach, than that a word should be added to the dissensions already too prevalent in the army. An appeal to the popular feeling in a matter of this kind was abhorrent to his ideas of military discipline. In the order transferring his command, he said, after praising the courage, patience, and endurance of the men, "Continue to exercise these virtues; be true in your

devotion to your country, and to the principles you have sworn to maintain; give to the brave and skillful general who has so long been identified with your organization, and who is now to command you, your full and cordial support and coöperation, and you will deserve success."

The President refused to accept General Burnside's resignation of his commission, and appointed him to the command of the Department of the Ohio, where he rendered eminent and conspicuous service, clearing the country of guerillas, and affording protection to the loyal population. Attacked by Longstreet, with vastly superior forces, he retired, after repulsing the enemy, which outnumbered him nearly three to one, at Campbell's Station, to Knoxville, which he occupied and fortified, and where he successfully resisted the siege which that able general laid to it. A terrific assault was made upon his fortifications, and was repulsed with equal impetuosity; and the enemy was driven back, with the loss of 1,400 men. Encouraged by dispatches from General Grant, urging the importance of maintaining the position which he occupied, General Burnside held out, by the fertility of his resources, by his patience, persistence, and unfailing hopefulness, with all which qualities he had the happy faculty of inspiring his men, till Longstreet, warned by the approaching relief of Sherman, was obliged to raise the siege.

Again assigned to the command of his own Ninth Corps, General Burnside participated actively in the closing operations of the war, under General Grant. In front of Petersburg, he undertook the mine about which so much has been said and written. I have not time to go into an account of this work; but I do not hesitate to say that, had he been permitted to carry out that enterprise on his own plans, and with troops of his own selection, it would have been a success. The whole matter was investigated by the Congressional Committee on the Conduct on the War, which said in its report:

The cause of the disastrous result of the assault of the 30th of July last is mainly attributable to the fact, that the plans and suggestions of the general (Burnside) who devoted his attention for so long a time to the subject, who had carried out to so successful completion the project of mining the enemy's works, and who had so carefully selected and drilled his troops, for the purpose of securing whatever advantages might be attainable from the explosion of the mine, should have been so entirely disregarded by a general who had evinced no faith in the successful prosecution of that work, had aided it by no countenance or open approval, and had assumed the entire direction and control, only when it was completed, and the time had come for reaping any advantage that might be derived from it.

And General Grant, in his testimony before the Committee on the Conduct of the War, frankly said, "General Burnside wanted to put his colored division in front, *and I believe if he had done so, it would have been a success.*" Surely, if human testimony avails anything, this is a sufficient vindication of General Burnside.

At the close of the Rebellion, General Burnside resigned his commission, and retired to private life. In 1866 he was elected governor of Rhode Island; he was twice reelected, when he declined further service. In 1875, he entered this body, where his honorable and useful course is well known to us all. On the expiration of his term of office he was reelected.

In 1870, during the Franco-German war, General Burnside was in Europe. At Versailles, the headquarters of the invading army, he made the acquaintance of the German Emperor, the Crown Prince, Bismarck, and Von Moltke, on all of whom he made a favorable impression, and especially on Bismarck. Dr. Russell wrote to the *London Times*: "Bismarck likes him (Burnside). Indeed there are few persons of any nation who will not be touched by the cordial nature and uprightness of the man, by his solid good sense and kindness of nature, and by his clearness of perception, unmarred by show, selfishness, or any affectation of statesmanship, which is, perhaps, the highest diplomacy. Count Bismarck has a *penchant* for Americans of a certain high stamp. He says, 'I like self-made men. It is the best sort of manufacture in our race.'" In the interest of peace General Burnside went, under a flag of truce, twice to Paris, where he had interviews with Jules Favre, General Trochu, and other members of the government. The visit was attended with considerable personal danger, as there was no communication permitted between the hostile lines, and the general and his party were fired on, at their approach, their flag of truce being misunderstood.

He went in no official capacity, but was the bearer of certain suggestions from Count Bismarck to Monsieur Jules Favre, in relation to an armistice, for the purpose of enabling the French people to elect a constituent assembly, to replace the fallen Empire, and to enter into negotiations for peace. Count Bismarck authorized General Burnside to say that he would grant an absolute armistice of forty-eight hours for holding an election, and give every facility for a fair election, as well as for the subsequent departure of the members elected for the city of Paris for the place where the constituent assembly might meet. The government of Paris was not, however, disposed to permit the election of a constituent assembly, which might deprive it of power, and General Burnside's mission simply opened the door for future negotiations. The general, after his second visit to Paris, obtained from Count Bismarck permission for about one hundred Americans to leave Paris, many of them without funds and in a deplorable condition.

The general was impressed with the appearance of Paris, invested by an immense army; isolated from the rest of the world, except when a mail was received under a flag of truce, or sent away by a balloon; with 500,000 troops in the city, and 10,000 sailors manning the heavy guns on

the outer forts; with its theatres closed, its gas-lights extinguished, and its markets destitute of meat, poultry, fish, and game. He was not at the time communicative respecting his visit, but he expressed his opinion that Paris could not be successfully defended, and that it could not be taken by assault.

In 1852, General Burnside married Mary Richmond Bishop, a most excellent and accomplished woman, graced with every virtue that adorns her sex. After a most happy union, she died in 1876. During the five years that he survived her he did not cease to lament her.

General Burnside united as many excellencies with as few failings as often meet in one character. Brave, manly, generous, he joined to the rugged masculine virtues and "all that may become a man" a softness and gentleness of disposition that became a woman. Quick in his conceptions, rapid in his processes, he was sometimes hasty in his judgments; but he always held them open to evidence, and subject to argument, and with a singular absence of the pride of opinion, he changed them frankly, on conviction. He believed in general laws, to the test of whose principles he brought particular cases. Incapable of guile, liberal in his estimate of men, he was, occasionally, too little suspicious of the guilefulness of others. Yet he was no mean judge of character, and no man long deceived him; nor ever twice. He had an instinctive horror of injustice, and a genuine contempt for meanness; yet his horror of the one and his contempt for the other were, to a certain extent, modified by his charitableness; and after strongly denouncing a wrong, he would interpose some palliation for the wrong-doer, would find some generous mitigation of the offence which he could not defend and could not overlook. No man was firmer in his friendships or more faithful in his convictions. Nothing could tempt him to an act which his conscience condemned. No sophistry, no personal appeal could move him from his fixed idea of right.

General Burnside was a man of profound religious beliefs. He held firmly to the truths of religion, natural and revealed, and had full confidence in a superintending Providence, which, whether working by general laws, or by special interposition, he cared not to inquire, ruled in the affairs of men. He had a faith, almost superstitious in its force, that men were rewarded for their good, and were punished for their evil deeds, even in this world; that, in the long run a man did not suffer from an honest conduct, or profit from a dishonest one. Often, when under a sense of injustice toward himself, or lamenting it in others, he has said to me, "Well, there is a good Father above, who watches over us, and who will bring all this out right, in the end;" and while holding, with the tenacity of conviction, to his own deliberate judgments, he was most generous in his estimate of others, never seeking or, save in the plainest

cases, accepting an unworthy motive when a worthy one could be found applicable.

He had, also, an undoubting faith in elective institutions, and that the people, however they might be misled in the beginning, would ultimately decide, correctly and patriotically, every question on which they were called upon to act. That sanguine temperament, which enters so largely into the elements of success, made him always confident of the final triumph of the political principles in which he firmly believed. He had what seemed to me an exaggerated estimate of the rights and just powers and duties of our government towards the other American states; and looked forward to the supremacy of our flag over almost the entire continent,—a consummation, however, which, as he fully believed it would come in God's good time, he would not hasten by act of violent aggression, although, as the Senate knows, he was strongly in favor of asserting our rights, by declaratory legislation.

Need I speak, in this presence, of General Burnside's hospitality, so cordial! so elegant! yet so simple and so unostentatious! Who that has enjoyed it, who that has seen his genial countenance and his commanding form, at the head of his table, can forget them?

General Burnside was strongly attached to rural pleasures and addicted to agricultural pursuits. His little estate, of fifty-seven acres, near Bristol, and named "Edghill Farm," after his father and his paternal grandmother, was a model farm, and, by the application of science to practical experience, had been brought to a high state of cultivation; and prouder than of all his successes in the field, and in the forum, he seemingly was of his meadow that cut three tons to the acre, and of his corn-field that yielded sixteen hundred bushels to twelve acres. His herd of Alderneys, of the purest blood, and of the finest character, was the admiration of the neighborhood. He was very fond of his horses, and his cattle, which—such is the effect of steady kindness even upon the brute creation—knew his voice, and always welcomed his approaching steps. His favorite horse—the gift of some unknown friend—that had borne him on many a hard-fought field, lived to the age of nigh thirty years, and, long past service to his owner, became by reason of age and infirmity, a burden to himself, till life was nothing but a prolonged suffering. Yet the general was reluctant, even at the dictate of humanity, to have him killed. At last, he yielded, and ordered the animal to be shot, but not till he should have departed for Washington. The time of that departure never came. The day when the lifeless body of the Senator was borne from the farm that he loved so well, the faithful beast was shot.

General Burnside delivered several speeches and addresses at agricultural meetings. These were replete with sound doctrine, practical suggestions, and sturdy common sense. Among his papers was an address

that he had prepared, to be delivered before the Aquidneck Agricultural Society of Rhode Island, whose fair a slight indisposition, just before the fatal attack, had prevented him from attending. In the cultivation and improvement of his farm, he took the greatest delight. He loved to watch the ripening fruit, the young trees putting forth their tender leaves and extending their growing branches, the yellow field, tremulous with the waving harvest. Always, on the adjournment of the Senate, he turned, with eager steps, to his chosen acres. They are situated on a ridge of land gently sloping to Mount Hope Bay, an indentation of the broader Narragansett, and navigable to the shore of the farm, commanding a view seldom equalled, by land and water, including a portion of the island that gives its name to the State, the beautiful rural town of Bristol, the white roofs of Fall River, whose tall chimneys continually darken the sky with the smoke of toil, and Mount Hope, the ancient seat of King Philip, and the place where that renowned warrior was slain. The house is of a quaint and peculiar construction, built after the General's own fancy, and from his own designs, and, in its architecture and appointments, suggesting the idea of a maritime structure. Here, he dispensed an elegant and profuse, yet simple and inexpensive hospitality. The highest personages in the land and the humblest soldier that ever fought by his side met the same cordial reception, the same frank and unaffected welcome. The great dining-room, around whose table many who listen to me have sat, is inclosed with broad piazzas, having curious and original arrangements, the fruit of the general's mechanical tastes, for protection from the fervid heats of summer and the chilling blasts of winter, and is distinguished by an enormous fire-place, over which rise the huge antlers of a great deer or caribou. Ah! the genial hospitality of that famous room! In my mind's eye, the picture is before me! The farm is a lovely spot, never lovelier than on the sad day when I saw it last, bathed in the soft light of early November, bending beneath the golden weight of autumn, resplendent with the hues of the dying year.

General Burnside's death was very sudden. The afternoon before, he was at my house, in Providence. He had been a little ill, for a few days previous, but with nothing that caused apprehension. He left me gaily, promising to return the next morning. He insisted upon walking to the railroad-station, half a mile distant, saying that the exercise would do him good. On the following morning I received a telephonic message that he was very ill, and requesting me to come to him. Before a carriage could be brought to the door, a second message came, saying that he was dead. He had been alarmingly ill, scarcely an hour. Of all those who loved him, only his faithful and attached servants stood by his dying bed. Shall we lament the manner of such a death? Is it not better than the slow decay, the wasted form, the failing mind of age? To

him whom a life of usefulness and of goodness has prepared for his coming, death, when he comes unannounced, comes robbed of half his terrors. Let us find consolation for that portion of him which has died, in the contemplation of that portion which could not die, in the memory of his services to his country, his great achievements, his unselfish generosity, his patriotism, his public and his private virtues.

General Burnside was of fine address, of a commanding stature, a strikingly handsome man. The frankness of his expression and the sweetness of his smile, at once won upon the observer, and prepared him for that favorable judgment which a fuller acquaintance never failed to confirm. His age was fifty-seven. I think that no man survives him whose form and features are known to a greater number of persons. They were calculated to attract attention, and once seen were not likely to be forgotten. His acquaintance in the army, where he had held large commands, his frequent journeyings at home, and his foreign travel; his entrance into Paris, at a time and under circumstances that rendered him the observed of all observers, made him familiar to hundreds of thousands who did not have his personal acquaintance.

Upon my personal relations with General Burnside I do not dwell; I scarce venture to speak of them. As you know, Senators, they were of the most intimate and tender character. During our whole service together, they were never disturbed by differences or clouded by doubt or distrust. Not always agreeing upon public measures, we differed, on those rare occasions when we did differ, with mutual respect and confidence. He was the most lovable man that I ever knew; and I loved him, I love him still, with a love which will find no successor to him, in my affection. Not a day has passed since I last looked upon him, scarcely a waking hour, when he has not been in my mind. And even if I could have forgotten him, I should have been reminded of him by the expressions of sympathy which have continually met me.

" Ah! Jonathan! my brother! lorne
And friendless I must looke to be!
That harte whose woe thou oft has borne
Is sore and strickene nowe for thee!
Younge bridegroom's love on brydal morne —
Oh it was lyghte to thyne for me,
Thy tymeless lotte I now must playne,
Even on thyne own highe places slayne."

Friend, companion, brother! hail and farewell! The memory of thy virtues, and of thy services, and that thou did'st deem me worthy of thy friendship and thy confidence are my chief consolation, in the irreparable loss that I have suffered.



CHAPTER XLI.

CONTINUATION OF THE EULOGIES IN THE SENATE — ADDRESSES BY
SENATOR HARRISON, OF INDIANA; SENATOR WADE HAMPTON,
OF SOUTH CAROLINA, AND SENATOR ALDRICH, OF RHODE
ISLAND.

SENATOR HARRISON, who is a grandson of President Harrison, and who served honorably in the war for the suppression of the Rebellion, paid the following tribute to General Burnside, as a son of the State which he represented in the Senate :

Mr. President : Senator Burnside was a native of Indiana, from which State he entered the Military Academy in the year 1842. Since that time he has never resided in our State, but his affectionate interest in the place of his birth, and in his relatives who continued to reside there, was always manifest. In asking a little time to-day, in which to present an unpretentious but very sincere tribute to the memory of Senator Burnside, I am not responding merely to a formal duty which might seem to be imposed upon me as a representative of the State in which he was born, but also to the promptings of a friendship, which, though brief, had in it the element of endurance, for it was founded on a very high respect for his character.

I shall always count it a pleasant incident of my introduction to the Senate that I was so placed as to be much in his company during the last session of his service here. His greeting each morning was like a benediction—so much of grace and kindness was there in it. In the light of a short intimate acquaintance I find no difficulty in understanding the

secret of that strong affection which existed between General Burnside and all of those who were brought much in contact with him, both in military and civil life.

He was a bold, frank, friendly, generous man. There are men, and not a few, who selfishly absorb the lives and achievements of others; who deck themselves with laurels they have not won, and strut in pilfered greatness. Such was not our friend. He did reverence to merit and to high achievement wherever he saw it. He applauded the heroic acts of others with no half-hearted cheer, nor ever admitted to his generous soul the base suggestion that when others were praised the world's thoughts turned from him.

Speaking of the Ninth Army Corps, which General Burnside commanded so long, his biographer says: "Jealousy, that bane of military life, was unknown." I can accept this record with implicit faith, for jealousy never found harbor or hiding-place in the heart of the commanding general. There was no room in that well-lighted breast for this black angel. As a subordinate, he never failed to yield a quick and loyal obedience to his superior; nor ever sought to justify his own judgment in the council by a hesitating support of the plan of battle which his superior had chosen. He was a true soldier — one who had not only a master but a cause, into the fellowship of which he received all who made that cause common. He might join in the high rivalry of those who would give most to this sacred cause, or win most honor to the flag; but if he might not be the first to plant the flag on the enemy's battlements, he would at least be found among those who hailed with cheers both the flag and the victor. He never minified the deeds of others to make his own more conspicuous. He was no egotist, but always rated himself below the value at which others appraised him. The modest way in which he often spoke to me of his deficiencies as a contestant in the debates of this chamber, I well remember. These were not the self-depreciating utterances of one seeking flattery. His sincerity was as conspicuous as his modesty. Nor was his noble soul hurt or embittered by the confession that others surpassed him. And here, I think, Mr. President, we have the secret of that enduring summer which warmed the heart and lighted the face of our beloved friend.

He was a man who kept the shield of his personal honor bright and unspotted. Dishonesty, meanness, subterfuge, deception roused his nature into flame, and always received his unstinted denunciation. He was not content to disapprove of wrong; he assailed it. All who knew him have witnessed how his soul kindled and his words grew hot at any recital of oppression or injustice.

He was a man of great purity and delicacy of feelings. Coarseness and vulgarity seemed peculiarly offensive to him. He was always a re-

finest and courtly gentleman, full of sweet sympathies and kindly deeds.

At the wide fireside of Burnside's heart many guests have received warmth and light; and coming again, after years of separation, have found that no old friend was ever crowded out of that hospitable soul.

Humble men and common interests had his sympathies. Several times, as he opened his mail at his desk, he has turned to read aloud to me the letters of the farmer who had in charge the little farm at Bristol. The news of the herd and the dairy, couched in homely phrase, seemed greatly to please him, and the kindly words he spoke of those who had these small interests in charge opened to me a pleasant glimpse of a happy home.

The duty of bringing to our memory to-day the striking incidents in the honorable life of Senator Burnside belongs to the Senators from Rhode Island, and I would not intrude upon it. I have alluded to some of those traits of the deceased which were so conspicuous as to be easily marked by every one who knew him. Beneath these outcroppings of a great heart and life there were doubtless beds of gold which time and intimacy only could reveal. The senior Senator of this body, the colleague and close friend of the deceased, has done tenderly and eloquently this last office of an affection which even the youngest of us had time to notice and admire.

But I will be excused, I am sure, if I allude to a few incidents in the life of General Burnside which seem to me to illustrate the observations of his character made during the few months of our close acquaintance here.

When the Civil War broke out, he had already achieved honorable promotion in the service of one of the great railroad corporations of the West. Before him the avenues of wealth and honorable distinction in civil life opened alluringly. But when the call of his country came, the enticements of wealth and ease did not for a moment enthrall his patriotic spirit. Suddenly inquired of by wire when he could take command of the First Rhode Island Regiment, his answer was "at once." And from that April day till peace came again to a restored country, he gave his time, his heart, his life to the Nation's service, with an unselfish patriotism that was never excelled. He had no days of sulking, but was always ready for any honorable service to which a soldier might be called. We may truthfully say of him what, in orders to his corps after Antietam, he said of the commander of its third division (General Rodman), who fell in that fight: "He has left a bright example of unselfish patriotism, undimmed by one thought of self."

The command of the Army of the Potomac did not come to him as the result of ambitious self-seeking. He had loyally supported those who

preceded him in this responsible trust. In addressing General Halleck after his appointment he said: "Had I been asked to take it I should have declined, but being ordered, I cheerfully obey." Most bitterly did this modest soldier feel the jealousy which his appointment developed in his army. This is not the place to apportion the praise or blame of Fredericksburg. But against the background of that bloody repulse some of the noblest traits of General Burnside are made conspicuous. He did not indulge in whimpering complaints of others, but with a courage higher than that of battle, assumed the just responsibility of the fight he had ordered.

The press of the country severely criticised the overburdened President, and charged that he had forced Burnside to fight, against his judgment. Mr. Raymond, the veteran editor of the *New York Times*, who was at the headquarters of the army shortly after the battle of Fredericksburg, tells us that the President was greatly depressed by these charges, and that Burnside, hearing of it, said: "Mr. President, I will at once relieve you on that score. I will not allow any one to suffer for acts the entire responsibility of which belongs to me." This purpose he nobly fulfilled in his report.

When he was relieved from the command of the army he said to the President: "Neither you nor General Hooker will be a happier man than myself if he shall gain a victory on the Rappahannock;" and in his report of the movements of the army while under his command, written long afterwards, he said: "I am not disposed to complain of my lack of success in the exercise of the command, and in view of the glorious results which have since attended the movements of that gallant army, I am quite willing to believe that my removal was for the best."

If unfriendly criticism shall deny to him some of the qualities of the perfect military leader, only base souls will refuse to do reverence to the nobility of his character. The black setting of disaster only makes these gems of the spirit shine more lustrously. But we must not forget that Fredericksburg was not Burnside's only fight. In the campaign on the Carolina coast, at Antietam, and in East Tennessee, he gave high proof of most conspicuous ability as a commander.

When we separated last spring there was no token of the near approach of death. He seemed to be in the perfection of physical health. Once afterward I saw him in Indiana, and as he rode with me that quiet summer evening, I little thought I should see him no more in life. We talked of the time when we should assemble here again. But, alas! when I came, not my friend but the emblems of death were beside me. His death was sudden, and yet there was not denied him a brief time in which to adjust the draperies of his gentle and reverent spirit ere he stepped into the presence of the Great King.

Mr. President, in the death of General Burnside we have lost one who

never denied his country or his friend; one whose name was never tainted by the flavor of a mean or corrupt act; one who filled usefully high and exacting public trusts; one whose spirit was never soured by disappointment or poisoned by envy; one who could be glad if upon the background of his own disaster another might display a triumph for the cause he loved; one who was always a dispenser of hope and gladness. Surely these are traits which we must not only admire but covet for ourselves. And as our thoughts bring to the resurrection these qualities of our friend, and clothe them with a beauty to the expression of which our words are inadequate, may we not hope that the white-winged throng will find new life in living hearts?

To the State of his adoption, where his active life was spent, I bring to-day a sorrowful greeting from the State of his nativity. Indiana mourns a son whose high career she followed with affection.

Senator Wade Hampton, of South Carolina, the dashing cavalry leader of the Confederate army, thus bore tribute to the deceased Union general:

Mr. President: It was the good fortune of the honorable Senator from Rhode Island, the father of the Senate, who has just spoken so feelingly of his distinguished colleague, whose untimely death we deplore, to have known him long and intimately, and to have thus known him was to love him. Bound to him, as he was, by the strong tie of the closest friendship and the most intimate party affiliation, it is natural that in speaking of him his language is that of eulogy, for the words he has uttered came warm and direct from his heart. So, sir, do mine, though my personal acquaintance with General Burnside dated only from my entrance as a Senator into this chamber. But my association with him upon this floor, in the committee-room, and in social intercourse soon impressed me with his many high and attractive qualities, and taught me not only to admire him, but to regard him as a personal friend. In the dark days of the Civil War, when we stood in opposing ranks, I learned to respect him as a true, brave, and gallant soldier—one who followed his convictions of right with earnest singleness of purpose; who fought not from ambition or a desire of glory, but from a deep sense of duty, and who in every act of his honorable military career subordinated all private considerations to the public good. When he sheathed his sword, which had never been tarnished with dishonor nor stained by cruelty, he promptly extended the hand which had so resolutely grasped that sword in war to those who had been his enemies. Magnanimous as he was brave, his heart was large enough and generous enough to recognize, when peace came to our distracted country, every American citizen as his fellow-countryman, and no act of his since the war was inspired by sec-

tional hate or political animosity. War, with all its attendant, inevitable horrors, could not change his gentle and noble nature, for he seemed to be absolutely free from all the bitterness it might naturally have engendered, and his highest aim, his constant efforts were directed always toward the reconciliation, the harmony, and the enduring peace of the country. It was the recognition of his patriotic efforts in this direction, together with the charm of his kind and genial manner, that won for him the respect, the esteem, and the affection of his colleagues from the South, and I feel assured that I give utterance to the universal feeling prevailing among them when I express the profoundest sorrow at his death.

It is no disparagement to the distinguished gentleman who has succeeded him, or to any one who may hereafter do so, to assert that Rhode Island, however prolific she may be of able and patriotic sons, will never send to this chamber one who can fill the place made vacant by his death more worthily than he did, nor pass from among us amid deeper and more general sorrow than is felt at his loss. This sorrow is as sincere as it is general; it is felt as keenly on this side of the chamber as on the other; as deeply by Southern men who fought in the Confederate ranks as by Northern who supported the cause of the Union. It seems, therefore, not inappropriate that I, who during the war stood under the folds of the starry cross, should pay a tribute, however feeble, to that gallant soldier who, amid all trials and vicissitudes, in disaster as in success, bravely upheld the flag of the Union. "Would that it were worthier"; but it is at least sincere, for it comes from one who was his enemy in war and in peace his political opponent. Other Senators will doubtless tell of his distinguished services to his State and to the country; of his high qualities and his noble nature; of his gracious manner and magnetic presence, which gained for him everywhere, in all the walks of life, troops of friends. I, too, sir, would fain dwell on these grateful themes, but others have a higher right than myself to do so. Mine is the humbler but not less grateful duty to pay a simple but heartfelt tribute to the memory of a friend — one who could always be trusted, and whose conduct was uniformly marked by dignity, courtesy, and kindness. His lifelong friends, his party associates, his comrades in arms, the whole people of the State that he loved and served so well, have joined in bewailing his death and in honoring his memory. They have worthily bedecked his tomb with wreaths of immortelles; I bring but a single spray of Southern cypress, to lay it tenderly and reverently on his grave. Peace to his ashes; for of him it may with truth be said, that throughout his long, varied, and honorable career,

"He bore without abuse
The grand old name of gentleman."

The last Senator who spoke,—in accordance with the usage,—was the Hon. Nelson W. Aldrich, of Rhode Island, who had been as a Representative, the colleague of the deceased Senator, and who had been elected as his successor in the Senate. He said :

Mr. President: Other Senators, better qualified by long and familiar association during years of common service here, or of common peril in the field, have faithfully told the story of General Burnside's life and public services. I cannot hope to add anything to their graceful words of eulogy and eloquent tributes of affection, and I should not venture to detain the Senate beyond a simple declaration of concurrence in their kindly expressions if the obligations of my position did not require that I should confirm the testimony so feelingly and beautifully given by my colleague of the estimation in which Senator Burnside was held by the people of my native State. No man stood higher in the regard of the people of Rhode Island, and the loss of none in all her history has been so universally mourned. His sudden death touched our hearts with sadness and sorrow at a time when all were watching with anxious solicitude at the bedside of our dying Chief Magistrate.

The dark shadows of impending calamity which then filled every household in the land with gloom, deepened the grief which overwhelmed our people when the announcement was made that their neighbor had been stricken down. He had been the trusted and familiar friend of all classes, and all felt that they had suffered in his death an irreparable loss. There was something phenomenal in the attachment of our entire community to General Burnside. It was the affection of a people, proud of their history and traditions, clinging with peculiar tenacity to their conservative institutions, slow to change or to give their confidence, for a man who came to them in mature years, a stranger from a distant State. To this son of Indiana, who left behind him the unequalled opportunities for development and the broad fields of usefulness and power of the great West, and boldly stemmed the tide of emigration to enter in New England lists already crowded with competitors, they gave abundant evidences of their confidence and freely accorded their highest political honors. No man can say that these distinctions were not fairly won by honorable service.

It is not necessary that I should recall the familiar facts of his eventful career. As a brave, faithful, and efficient soldier, he deserved the gratitude of his countrymen for his important services. It may not be possible for his contemporaries to assign to him the place he will occupy in history as a military commander, but we can say with confidence that no man entered our great conflict with a nobler purpose, or was actuated

at all times by a more devoted patriotism, or had a keener appreciation of the importance of the duties he was called upon to discharge. The brightness of his military record was never tarnished by exhibition of petty jealousy, or by unseemly strife for personal preferment. He had courage, a resolute, steadfast determination which was superior to all obstacles, and an unwavering faith in the justice of his cause. His familiarity with the *personnel* of his command, and his painstaking care over everything which would contribute to their convenience and comfort, kept them at all times in sympathy with their commander and his purposes. He never complained of any injustice or neglect, but was always ready to serve whenever and wherever he was ordered. It has been well said by one who knew him well, that he "was never discouraged by disaster or soured by a sense of injury." He never sought to evade the full measure of accountability for his acts and opinions, and his exceptional magnanimity often led him to assume the responsibility for failures and faults properly chargeable to others.

We find his characteristic honesty of purpose and devotion to duty manifested in his life at the capital. He did not look upon his position here as an honor to be lightly worn, but as a great public trust, with grave responsibilities. He was ambitious to be a useful servant of the people who had honored him with a seat in the Senate, and was always ready to respond to demands made upon him by his constituents, no matter how exacting they might be. His conclusions as to the line of public duty to be followed were reached not as the result of profound study, but by accepting the promptings of his own generous and manly nature, and these seemed to lead him instinctively to correct decisions.

We may not claim for him great genius or brilliant achievements as a soldier or statesman. He had neither the arrogant pretensions, the impracticable theories, nor the infirmities of temper which are sometimes accepted as the evidences of genius, but he had an intelligent comprehension of the important duties of American citizenship, and a sincere desire and honest intention to advance the interests and improve the condition of his fellow-countrymen. No man ever dared to attempt to influence or control his action by appeals to purely selfish motives. He was always sanguine of the success of any cause which he advocated, as he believed in the ultimate supremacy of moral forces and the final triumph of right.

In emergencies, and whenever uncertain of methods or results, he confidently asked for Divine guidance, with the firmest belief in the efficacy of earnest prayer. His unaffected simplicity of manner, his kindness of heart, and his spirit of broad, catholic charity for the unfortunate and the suffering endeared him to all.

I should do an injustice to the general's memory if I should fail to

allude to his attractive social qualities. These were best understood and appreciated by the wide circle of friends who were permitted to enjoy the delightful companionship of his home, with its warmth of welcome and genial intercourse, and with its bountiful and gracious hospitality; but a much wider circle will remember the cordial grasp of the hand, and the kind words with which he invariably greeted those with whom he was brought into contact.

The hour dedicated to the memory and worth of our dear friend, who was so recently full of vitality and hope, and now has left the scenes of his earthly pleasures and friendships forever, is drawing to a close, and as we speak the final words we realize how powerless is human agency to mitigate our sorrow.

We may hereafter find much consolation in contemplating the record made to-day of his useful and honorable life. That his good name and example will be cherished by those who knew him best, is amply attested by many instances of their devotion to his memory. On the day preceding his funeral half of our population crowded through the portals of the City Hall, in Providence, with bowed heads and tearful eyes, to look for the last time on his familiar features. His own loved and trusted veterans, the bravest and best of Rhode Island's sons, who tenderly guarded his mortal remains from the hour of his death until the earth closed over them, have taken steps to have his manly presence reproduced in enduring bronze, to adorn the busy streets of our principal city. He was lovingly borne, with imposing honors, to his last resting-place by the State of his adoption, who now proudly claims his fame and his ashes as her own.

I move the adoption of the pending resolutions.

The PRESIDENT, *pro tempore*. The question is on the adoption of the resolutions presented by the senior Senator from Rhode Island (Mr. Anthony).

The resolutions were agreed to unanimously; and (at two o'clock and twenty-one minutes, P. M.) the Senate adjourned.





CHAPTER XLII.

EULOGIES DELIVERED ON GENERAL BURNSIDE IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, BY THE HON. JONATHAN CHACE AND THE HON. HENRY J. SPOONER, OF RHODE ISLAND.

IN the House of Representatives, on the 24th of January, 1882, the resolutions passed by the Senate on the death of Ambrose E. Burnside, late a Senator from Rhode Island, were received and read. The Hon. Jonathan Chace, senior member of the House from Rhode Island, then submitted the following resolutions, which were read from the clerk's desk :

Resolved, That the House of Representatives has received with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of Hon. Ambrose E. Burnside, late a United States Senator from the State of Rhode Island.

Resolved, That the business of the House be now suspended, that opportunity may be given for fitting tributes to the memory of the deceased and to his eminent public and private virtues; and that as a further mark of respect, the House, at the conclusion of such remarks, shall adjourn.

Mr. Chace then addressed the House as follows :

Mr. Speaker: Recognizing the eminent fitness of Congress placing upon record some memorial of those whose names have been stricken from the roll of either house by the hand of death; in deference to the common sentiment of the people of the State of Rhode Island; and impelled also by my own feelings of personal loss, I submit these resolutions. Few men have been more fortunate than was Ambrose E. Burnside; few more hon-

ored. Few have bound to themselves their friends with stronger ties than he; to few have come greater opportunities. Upon few have rested greater responsibilities in life, and rarely has any public man discharged the trust laid upon him more happily or more successfully. It was my privilege to know Senator Burnside for many years, never without respect and esteem; of latter time it grew into a sincere feeling of friendship and regard. Widely separated as we were in sentiment and belief in regard to some points, there was always in him a gentle forbearance of feeling, a kindly consideration towards those who differed from him, that could not fail to challenge the warmest response. It is a pleasure, therefore, to emulate the broad charity, of which he set us so eminent an example, and in my feeble way pay a few brief words of honest tribute to the many noble qualities of his head and heart. He was a soldier, and I opposed to all war; yet we were friends, for well we knew that

" Dimly in the present view
We see the truth."

Much of General Burnside's fame rests upon his military achievements, upon his command of the Ninth Army Corps and of the Army of the Potomac, during the Rebellion. It will not be expected that I shall speak of his military career. That I shall pass over, holding, as he knew I did, that war is unjustifiable; that under the teachings of the New Testament it is not right to take human life under any circumstances; that "peace unweaponed conquers every wrong."

Had Burnside died under ordinary circumstances, the feelings of the people would have found much greater expression. His death came when the Nation was holding sad vigil at the bedside of its stricken President; while hope was struggling with fear; while all hearts were deeply touched with the noble courage and heroic patience with which our Chief Magistrate battled for life. The Nation was in anguish. In the midst of this season, so full of sorrow and grief, while the hands of fifty millions would fain have been put forth to wrestle with the angel of death and avert the impending sorrow, Rhode Island was called upon to part with her favorite son.

Death found him alone, with no loving hands save those of trusted and faithful servants, to soothe his last moments. Although the ties of kinship brought no mourner, his was not a tearless funeral. The State, in the person of its governor, was his chief mourner, and thousands, with unfeigned sorrow, followed his bier to the grave.

In person he was large of stature, commanding in form, with a face, blending manly beauty and rugged strength, surmounted by a noble brow. With a most contagious smile, nature lent a graceful charm to every lineament. "His eye, turned even on empty space, beamed keen with

honor." Physically his was a rare combination of that which is noble and lovable. With the voice of a stentor, that could compass the largest audience, yet finely modulated to the gentlest emotion; open, frank, and genial in manner; industrious, patient, and forceful; with a rare self-control; bold as a lion, yet gentle as a woman, and kindly thoughtful of others,—what wonder that men loved him. Rising from a humble position and trained for a military life, he attained eminence as a civilian. Thrice elected governor of the State and twice to the United States Senate, honoring himself and his constituents in each position, his life is another illustration of the blessings of our form of government and the great opportunities of American citizenship.

He was a wise and successful legislator. Making no pretensions to the arts of oratory, he had a straightforward manner of expressing himself, unadorned with rhetorical ornament, which reached the judgment of his hearers. His distinguishing characteristics were a faithfulness to trusts and an exalted sense of honor. This was nobly shown by his assuming the responsibility of the failure at Fredericksburg. The defeat of the Union army had depressed the spirits of the loyal men in the North, encouraging and emboldening those who sought the overthrow of the government to redouble their outcries against the administration, that the President was improperly interfering with the command of the army.

The dark shadows around Lincoln's eyes, those furrowed lines on his sad and careworn face, increased in depth. Discontent was heard on every side. It was a time when a little soul would hide itself to escape blame. Not so Burnside. "For the failure I am responsible," wrote he. That was moral heroism. Men who would face physical danger without blanching would hesitate here. Men will brave danger, will patiently endure suffering for the plaudits of the public, but few rise to the noble self-renunciation which he displayed by taking to himself discredit for his country's good. Holding strong convictions on questions of public policy, believing in party organization for the promotion of the public weal, he yet sunk the partisan in the patriot. As a legislator, urging with earnestness such measures as commended themselves to his judgment, the differences of view which are inevitable among men did not with him abate the warmth of personal friendship.

"He cherished large faith in humankind." He rose above the strife of political campaigns, the contests of party cabal, and with cheerful greeting for opponents and supporters, pressed on with those measures which he believed would promote the material interests of the country, strengthen that which is pure, educate and enlighten the people and lead them up to higher aspirations for the promotion of peace, for the extinguishment of sectionalism, the strengthening of friendship among states and peoples, for a pure administration of justice and the preserva-

tion forever of the liberties of the people. Such was Burnside. Great, because he was faithful and true according to his light.

" His strength was as the strength of ten,
Because his heart was pure."

A warrior who gloried less in feats of arms than in the substantial triumphs of the arts of peace. A legislator imbued with a high appreciation of the value of the institutions handed down to us by our fathers; inspired with a lofty sense of the responsibility we are under to preserve and transmit them unimpaired to posterity. A faithful friend, a loving husband, the charm of the social circle, cut down at the commencement of a senatorial term, and in the full tide of a splendid manhood.

Life is not measured by years, but by acts. It is not the rolling seasons, but entries by the recording angel of great and noble deeds; not the daily, returning sun, but the repetition of those graceful ministrations which bring light to many hearts, that tale the life of man. Measured by this standard, the life of our friend was a full one. The body has perished as "a fig tree casteth her untimely figs when shaken of a mighty wind;" but

" All that is real now remaineth,
And fadeth never."

The last speaker in the House of Representatives was the junior member from Rhode Island, Col. Henry J. Spooner, who had served under General Burnside in the gallant "Ninth Corps." Said he:

Mr. Speaker: The sudden death of Senator Burnside, which has been so properly recognized as a national affliction, overwhelmed the people of Rhode Island in a great common sorrow.

Burnside was of the foremost of our most eminent men, and held the largest share in the affections of our people. His commanding form was the most familiar figure in our State; his presence in any public gathering always evoked the heartiest greeting; his name was a "household word," mentioned with respect in every Rhode Island home. Thousands of my fellow-citizens had followed him through the varying fortunes of his campaign, from Bull Run to Petersburg, and had learned to appreciate his manly virtues where, in fidelity to a common cause, friendships were welded in the fierce fire of battle. We all loved and honored him, not less for the noble and endearing traits of his character than for his illustrious public services and achievements, and mourned his loss as the saddest bereavement.

We had recognized no indications of the approach of the dread mes-

senger; he came unheralded and unannounced. But the day before his death Senator Burnside was mingling with our people, engaged in his ordinary occupations, in the apparent enjoyment of his usual health, and in the full maturity of his powers. Neither age nor disease had impaired his faculties nor seemingly diminished the vigor of his robust manhood, and a long career of increasing usefulness to the Nation and his State seemed open before him. Secure in the confidence and affections of our people; adorned with all the dignities and honors which they could bestow; just entering, at their repeated call, upon his second term as United States Senator; trusted, honored, and beloved by the Nation as few other men ever have been, his future seemed radiant with brilliant promise and honorable possibilities. Yet the insidious destroyer, unsuspected and unrecognized, had crept within the portals of his life; and even preceding the knowledge of his illness came the shocking tidings—*Burnside is dead!*

Although a native of another State, Senator Burnside had long been a citizen of Rhode Island and largely concerned in her affairs in both private and public capacities. Educated at West Point and serving with gallantry in the United States Army, he had, prior to the war of the Rebellion, been a distinguished citizen of our State, and had been identified with and in command of our State militia, and at the outbreak of the war in 1861 was naturally selected as the colonel of our "First Rhode Island," that regiment, composed of the best of our patriotic sons, which, rushing to the defense of the Union cause, was among the first to report for duty at the Nation's capital.

I refrain from unnecessary reference to that great struggle; for the record and the results, familiar to all, illumine the pages of our country's history, and live and are perpetuated in our customs and our institutions, in our Constitution and our laws. And I scarcely need to recall how prominent a part in the historic events of that critical period in our national existence was enacted by our late Senator.

The war for the Union, involving, as it did, issues of greater magnitude and importance than had ever before been submitted to the arbitrament of arms—the supremacy of law, the honor of our flag, the very life of the Republic—aroused, as no less cause could, all that earnest patriotism, fidelity, and devotion to country and to duty which were among the stronger traits of Burnside's character.

His allegiance and his best services, during those unhappy years of civil strife, were constant, zealous, and unquestioning.

He fully recognized the necessity of that most positive of military laws, that to the superior belongs command, to the subordinate unhesitating obedience, and cheerfully submitted to its requirements. It was for the government to command his service, as and where it should be re-

quired; it was for him to serve, irrespective of personal preferences; and so we find him all through his military career and in every field of duty, whether as a subordinate or in high or independent command, ever the same conscientious, faithful, patriot-soldier, forgetful of self and regardless of personal advantage, bending his best ability and energy toward the successful prosecution of the great cause in which he was enlisted.

I do not wish to be understood to say that Burnside was without ambition, for I believe he was unusually imbued with that loftiest of all ambitions—a determination to perform his duty thoroughly and well; and that he highly valued the appreciative and just approbation of his fellow-men, and the rank and station which are the insignia of its recognition. It might perhaps have saved the country from years of desolating war, with the attendant expenditure of treasure and of blood, had more of our general officers possessed in like degree a similar unselfish ambition.

I will not at this time, and upon this, perhaps, unfitting occasion, pause to argue or consider the comparative position which should be assigned to Burnside among the great generals of our times. I apprehend that the calm, dispassionate investigation of history will accord to him the high position to which he is entitled in the temple of fame, and will point the moral of his heroic life, his lofty purposes, and of his distinguished and honorable achievements. Yet, with the vivid recollections which these thoughts recall of that service which I had the honor to share under his command, I would unfaithfully represent my comrades of the "Old Ninth Army Corps" did I fail to testify to the mutual confidence, affection, and esteem which always existed between them and their commanding general. No officer could have been more thoughtful and considerate for those of every rank and station under his command than was General Burnside, and none, I believe, ever inspired his officers and men with such universal devotion and veneration for their commanding general. I know of no other general in the Union army who so completely held the unquestioning confidence and affection of his men. To them his presence was an inspiration; his smile almost a benediction. Wherever they may have served under him, whether in his regiment, his brigade, or his illustrious "Old Ninth Army Corps," his surviving comrades, while dropping bitter tears over his grave, recall with just pride the recollection and the record of their service with Major-General Burnside.

At the conclusion of the war, modestly wearing the honors he had won, General Burnside resumed his residence in Rhode Island, where, in the following year, he was elected governor of the State, an office which he filled during three successive years, by as many successive elections, to his own honor and the high satisfaction of our people.

In 1874 he was the choice of Rhode Island for United States Senator; and, having completed his first term with credit and distinction, and won the just commendation of our State for the earnestness, care, and discrimination with which he performed the duties of his office and discharged every trust committed to his care, was, in 1880, reëlected to his seat in the United States Senate, and had scarcely entered upon his second term at the time of his sudden and seemingly untimely death.

He fell in the ripeness of his fame, adorned with the honors showered upon him by a grateful people, leaving them the legacy of a noble life, an illustrious career, and an honorable example.

His comrades of the war, the people, his State, and the Nation mourn his loss, and will vainly seek to fill the place in their councils and their hearts left vacant by his death.

If he had faults or weaknesses, they were in his excessive generosity, his open-hearted frankness, his amiability of temper, his wonderful unselfishness, his splendid magnanimity.

I think I may justly assert his only faults sprang from the development of his illustrious virtues.

He has gone to his reward, and I feel sure that the Great Arbiter of the universe will deal tenderly with that great spirit in which those who knew him most intimately could find no guile.

Although, in proportion to her small population and limited territory, Rhode Island has furnished many names of great men and distinguished heroes to decorate the pages of our country's history, there is no name upon that illustrious roll which she more affectionately and confidently commits to the appreciative consideration of posterity than that of her favorite and honored son, Ambrose Everett Burnside.

Mr. Speaker, I move the adoption of the resolutions.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted; and accordingly, at four o'clock and fifteen minutes, P. M., the house adjourned.





CHAPTER XLIII.

CONCLUDING ESTIMATE OF GENERAL BURNSIDE'S MILITARY CAREER, LEGISLATIVE ABILITY, PUBLIC SPEECHES, AND PRIVATE LIFE.

IT has been a difficult task to comprise within limited bounds the story of General Burnside's eventful life. An industrious mechanic, a gallant soldier, a wise governor, and a useful Senator, he was a glorious type of a citizen of the United States. Endowed by nature with a gracious presence, an indomitable will, great tenacity of purpose, and an indefatigable industry, he was always ready to perform any assigned duty.

His military career has been severely criticised, but a close examination of it will show that, when not obstructed by others, and when cordially supported by his subordinates, he was entitled to rank with the great generals of the war for the suppression of the Rebellion. Had he found, on his arrival at Fredericksburg, the pontoons which had been promised him, and had he received a loyal support when he moved on the enemy's works there, he would have redeemed the Army of the Potomac from the reputation for inaction which it had received; in his North

Carolina campaign, organized and carried on without interference from Washington, he displayed great energy and good generalship; his occupation of East Tennessee, culminating in his gallant defense of Knoxville against the dashing attacks of Longstreet's corps, displayed remarkable intrepidity, intelligence, and military skill; the advance of his command up the slope of South Mountain, fighting as they went, was unquestionably one of the most brilliant events of the war; had he been permitted to direct the assault at Petersburg, after the explosion of the mine, there is the high opinion of General Grant that "it would have been a success." But, above all, with a courage higher than that of battle, he assumed responsibilities which belonged to others, and he displayed a soldierly subordination, and an absence of selfish ambition, by serving, without murmuring, under a commander whom he ranked.

As a legislator, General Burnside exercised a greater influence on the work of the Senate, through his earnestness, integrity, and good sense, than many others whose remarks occupy a far greater space than his in the *Congressional Record*. When he spoke, he went, as was said of Wellington in the British House of Peers, straight at his mark, and never missed a bull's-eye. His oratory was, indeed, deficient in the higher flights of rhetoric, but it accurately reflected the practical character of his mind, and if some of his sentences were rough hewn from the block of his common sense, his auditors forgot their unpolished aspect in their deep sense of the value of the quarry. When forced into a debate by any of the numerous lawyers in the Senate Chamber, a Spartan defending himself and his country against Athenian orators could not have developed a more strongly-marked idiosyncrasy

or a more signal difference of culture, thought, and language. Mistaken at first "for a blunt soldier, and no more," it was not supposed that he could sustain himself against those "learned in the law" arrayed against him, but in those displays of dialectics which occupy so many pages of congressional debate, the results belie these expectations. The general (like another great soldier of old), settled the affair by cutting the knot, and carried the day against the most refined oratorical art, and the most inquisitive of cross-examinations, by simply saying his say and meaning what he said.

In his speeches before public assemblages, many specimens of which are given in the preceding pages, his thoughts took the shape of axioms, maxims, ascertained principles, and fixed conclusions. The utter absence of all oratorical display or desire for exhibition lent an additional force to what he said. His thorough personal identity with the people was his chief source of success. There was a vigorousness common to both thoughts and words, with an abruptness and positiveness, which was admired as "pluck," yet he was no master in the arts of the cunning demagogue. As a servant of the State of Rhode Island, in peace or in war, the meed of his ambition was full; and her praise or her blame stirred his heart more than the opinion of all the world beside.

It is difficult to speak of the private life of one who had so entirely become public property, but he had a domestic character wholly distinct from that which he externally presented to the world. As a soldier, and as a statesman, no other American was so well known, and he received and responded to the admiration and even the curiosity of the public, with great good nature. Whenever he passed through a crowd his path might be traced by the turned

faces and gazing eyes of men, women, and children. The wealthy and the poor — the highest class of society and the lowest — made public obeisance to him as he passed, while occasionally a veteran who had served under him would step up to grasp his hand. Courtly in his manners, scrupulously neat in his attire, and somewhat punctilious in matters of etiquette, he was a favorite in what is known as "society," but the mechanics and farmers of his neighborhood found him cordial, friendly, and at times jocular in his intercourse with them. Always fond of children, the "little people" paid him an involuntary tribute by being fond of him. He was the very soul of grace, of gentleness, and of hope; and kindness was the means to his ends. His consideration for other people — the proudest and the humblest — was courteous and charitable, with an excuse for every fault, and forgiveness for almost every wrong. No sacrifice of time, labor, thought, money, or responsibility seemed too great when he could make it in promoting the happiness of others.

"Twin column of the State,
In fight Achilles, Nestor in debate,
Whose mind was virtue's poise, whom no success
Might dazzle, no adversity depress,
No bribe allure, no artifice betray,
No labor tire, when duty showed the way,
No danger daunt and no renown elate;
His fate soared high, his soul outsoared his fate.
A youth as fresh as his first laurels were
He gave his country; and his silver hair
Honored the brows of service, brows that caught
Thro' near an age no shade of selfish thought:
The earliest beam that on his pathway crossed
Beheld him where night found him,— at his post.
Death but promotes him; all that could decline
Of his most honored being was — its dust;
He never dies who holds his life a trust."

General Burnside's name and fame will live while the recollection of the great historic events in which he was so prominent an actor remain. The country cannot forget him, and the people whom he so devotedly served will cherish the memory of his labors in their behalf while life shall last. Gallant Soldier! Honored Patriot! True Statesman! Generous Friend! Farewell!





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